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THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

Huey Must Be Set Free

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

P.O. BOX 8641
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OAKLAND CALIF., 94608

Free

FREE ALL BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS



Eldridge



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PIGS AMBUSH PANTHERS

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A TRIBUTE TO LIL BOBBY

Lil Bobby was the beginning -- the very first member of the Black Panther Party. He gave not only his finances, but he gave himself. He placed himself in the service of his people and asked nothing in return, not even a needle nor a piece of thread. He asked neither for security nor high office; but, he demanded those things that are the birth right of all men: Dignity and Freedom. He demanded this not only for himself but also for his people.

Like a bright ray of light moving across the sky, Lil Bobby came into our lives and showed us the beauty of our people. He was a living example of an infinite love for his people and for freedom. Now he has moved on and his memory, the example he showed us must serve as that spark which lights our way and leads us on in the struggle for life, dignity, and freedom.

We salute Lil Bobby and his family for what they have given us. He was the beginning of the Party. Let us make his thinking, his desires for his people become a way of life.□

Yours Forever, Huey P. Newton
Minister, of Defense
Black Panther Party

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Panthers Sue City Of Oakland

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PIGS USE MACE IN FALSE ARREST

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in white america



WHITE CITIZENS ARE ARMING THEMSELVES all over the country and organizing their communities not for self-defense, but for the outright slaughter of innocent black citizens.

ARM OURSELVES OR HARM OURSELVES

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS -- Sheriff Joseph I. Woods of Cook County is recruiting 1,000 civilian volunteers for his riot-control unit. As of February 27, this year, Woods had accepted over 300 volunteers.

DEARBORN, MICHIGAN -- In a suburb of Dearborn, the white citizens have taken the advice of their mayor and are receiving instructions on self-protection at the city's recreation department gun clinic.

HIGHLAND PARK, MICHIGAN -- The police department is providing gun training to the white citizens.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN -- Whites have formed an organization called "Breakthrough." This group is training under the General Douglas MacArthur Gun Club, which is an affiliate of the National Rifle Association.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE -- The following article appeared in the paper. "The Davidson County grand jury recommended today (12/27/67) that citizens arm against an outbreak of crime" that it implied the metropolitan police were unable to check. To protect themselves, the grand jury said, "citizens should have at least one gun in every home."

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- Gov. Lester Maddox said (1/1/68) he is considering the formation of a volunteer organization composed of 10,000 military service veterans to assist police and national guardsmen in quelling riots. This force would consist of "able former veterans of military service who are not engaged in active service or the national guard."

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- Law enforcement (federal and local) and military officials were among the persons present at Emory University Hospital, to watch the demonstration of a new long-barrelled tranquilizer. The pistol-shaped gun is powered by a carbon dioxide cartridge. It fires an 18 gauged needle, which is the small size used for blood tests. Its effective range is 10 to 12 yards, but researchers have been able to improve the range and firing speed of the weapon. Dr. Conner, the weapon's inventor, in April, 1967, demonstrated the gun before the house judiciary committee.

CLEVELAND, OHIO -- The Hough (Black ghetto) district is kept under constant surveillance by a low flying helicopter.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY -- is now purchasing for its police department the following items: 3 jeeps, 2 prisoner vans, 290 bullet-proof vests, 8 public address systems, 200 riot shields, 80 search lights, 300 riot sticks, 300 shotguns, 50 rifles, 12 sniperscopes, and 8 T.V. taping recorders. ■

Mexican-Americans Fight Racism

STATEMENT FROM THE BROWN CAUCUS OF PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY

The death of Bobby Hutton and Dr. Martin Luther King tragically reminds this country, and the world, of the dry rot of racism which is prevalent in White America.

The incarceration of Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, members of the Black Panther Party, given evidence to all that there does not exist room for those that oppose, and challenge, the warped and twisted minds that are guiding this country to Hell.

Racism in White America lies on this country like a heavy stench. It is oppressive; it is stifling. It is this very same disease that added two more Blacks to its long death list--Bobby Hutton and Dr. King. And the name of Eldridge Cleaver is now along side of Huey P. Newton, both under the heading of Political Prisoners.

This monster, this mentality, this way of life -- Racism -- is no stranger to the Mexican-American people. We have long been acquainted with it; we have seen deep in its eyes much hatred; we have long suffered from it. Countless times death has come to the Mexican-American Community by its hand. For the injustices -- or the lack of justice -- we have declared war on this monster.

Because the Brown and the Black people do have in common enemy we share in the Black Panther struggle against racism. We have long endorsed the Black Panther Program and will continue to do so. The Brown Caucus of PFP demands:

1. The immediate and unconditional release of ALL political prisoners.
2. The immediate cessation of police brutality beginning with the elimination of arms carrying by police departments.

The Brown Caucus of PFP reaffirms:

1. The right of self-determination by any and all oppressed people.
2. That the community has the right to govern itself by and for the members of its own community.

BROWN CAUCUS
(Richard Romo) ○

RAP'S OUT

(ANS) April 18, 1968 ... the state of Maryland has just this afternoon released H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee on a $10,000 bond pending trial on charges that he instigated Cambridge, Maryland citizens to riot last July.

Brother Rap was brought from Petersberg, Va. where he was being held facing extradition charges in an unmarked police car, accompanied by several law officers. He was taken immediately to the Court in Cambridge where within 5 minutes his arraignment was held and bail posted. His trial date for inciting to riot is two to three months away.

Meanwhile Brother Rap's strength is gaining and he is now 10 pounds heavier than last week when he officially ended his hunger strike.

Soon after the arraignment, Brother Rap was whisked away in another police car (unmarked) to the airport in a nearby city where he flew to New York. On hand to greet him at the airport were hundreds of brothers and sisters from New York and the surrounding area. Cheers of Black Power and Let Rap Rap were heard from among the joyous crowd as Brother Rap emerged from the plane.

It is expected that Brother Rap will remain in New York until he fully regains his health. Bail restrictions included those imposed upon Rap by the federal court along with the stipulation that Rap must appear before the Maryland Judge at any time the Judge deems necessary.

IT'S GOOD TO SEE YOU AGAIN, BROTHER! ○

HUEY'S STATEMENT

Statement of Huey Newton from the Alameda County jail, for the April 23, stop the draft week demonstrations in Oakland.

It appears that the efforts to suppress the will of the black community is intensifying. Every black man who attempts to enlighten the black masses is subversively silenced by the Establishment. This subversion does not occur in the classical shadows of secrecy, but instead it appears openly, wearing the disguise of law and order.

It now becomes incumbent upon those of us who are aware of this covert conspiracy to bring it to the attention of those who are being deceived. We must make the masses of the people aware that the order that is being maintained is that political economic social order of the status quo that allows the present power elite to continue to control the destiny of black people. The laws that are presently in existence were established with that type of order in mind. The laws that deal with human equality and social justice have been subordinated, and that order that refers to the condition of domestic and public tranquility have become secondary. ○

'ADOPT-A-PIG' is suicidal

Donald McCullum of Oakland Core has come up with a new variation of the "lick the hand that beats you" theme. His Adopt-a-cop program sells out the dignity of ghetto residents by saying that they, the victims of police cruelty; should find a cop, get to know him, and make him become their friend.

It should be clear by now that cops have no interest in being our friends and that they don't care for the people whose community they occupy. Their job is to maintain law and order, protect white property, and keep us from causing any trouble. They are outsiders, sent into our community by a hostile and frightened society; heavily armed and given a free hand to terrorize; supported in all their acts of viciousness by superiors, who condone their most outrageous abuses including murder; and further encouraged by an elaborate and prejudiced legal system. They are composed of violent, bigoted, fanatical, insensitive right wingers - partly because of the way they are selected and partly because of the kind of person who would want such a job. They represent the most odious example of institutionalized racism in this society.

The Panthers make no agreements with bankrupt institutions or with degenerate and inherently unjust systems. We say that the way to get rid of hostile, armed outsiders is to replace them with trained men from the ghetto who care about the community, who will protect members of the community and who are more interested in justice than in law and order. We, like any free people, want no one to police us but ourselves. We demand self-determination in all matters! Power to the people△

Eyes Of The Third World On U.S. Racism

King



To:
Ramsay Clarke
U.S. Attorney-General,
Washington, D.C.

THE EYES OF THE WORLD ARE ON YOU STOP CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN JUSTICE SEVERELY SHAKEN STOP SHOCKED AND DISMAYED AT CONTINUED PERSECUTION OF OUR BLACK BROTHERS IN AMERICA STOP WE DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF H. RAP BROWN, AND JUSTICE FOR LEROI JONES HUEY NEWTON AND ALL THE BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS WHO ARE PRESENTLY SUFFERING AT HANDS OF WHITE RACIST POLICE IN YOUR CITIES STOP

CABLE SENT BY CONCERNED BLACK PEOPLE IN CANADA.

ON THE DEATH OF
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

We learn with indignation the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. Please convey to Dr. King's family the Vietnamese Youth's hearty condolences. The racists backed by the U.S. Authorities murdered Dr. King to threaten the Afro-Americans' struggle for civil rights against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. But, their new crimes will increase Afro-Americans hatred and determination to fight against racial discrimination and U.S. aggressive war.

The Vietnamese Youth fully support the Afro-American's legitimate struggle and strongly condemn the U. S. ruling circles deceitful splitting manoeuvres brutal repression against your powerful struggle now spreading over America.

We wish your fight many successes.

VIETNAM YOUTH FEDERATION CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Martin Luther King gave himself in life and death to the heroic struggle of oppressed peoples. He joins the other martyrs of the Third World, Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, and Che Guevara, all executed in the battle for freedom, and against imperialism, racism and human exploitation. His heroic example shall remain an inspiration to our brethren, the Black Americans, to us Arabs, and to the "Damned of the Earth" everywhere.

In the words of Che: "Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

ZIYAD HUSAMI, PRESIDENT ORGANIZATION OF ARAB STUDENTS IN THE US. AND CANADA

Murder of King by monkeys confirm correctness of policy of armed self defense by black people everywhere. ZANU fully supports armed black power.

ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

Assassination of Martin Luther King has outraged world public opinion laying bare once more the racist genocide suffered by Afro-Northamerican people and the criminal nature of imperialism. Just as it does in Africa, Asia or Latin America, the U.S. resorts to crime in its won territory in order to maintain negro population under oppression. Please express to the family of Martin Luther King and to Afro-North American people our heart felt condolences, our support of your struggle and deep conviction that this dreadful crime which demonstrates that armed revolutionary violence is the only way to attain genuine liberation. This will contribute to strengthen and deepen the struggle of Afro-Northamerican people already reaching dimensions of total confrontation.

ORGANIZATION OF SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

The assassination of Dr. King arousing deep sorrow indignation at American imperialism among Japanese people who love peace, democracy and independence. We express heartfelt condolence to Mrs. King and all fraternal people.

Perpetrating massacre in Vietnam Johnson administration has imprisoned Rap Brown and caused bloodshed at Orangeburg and now allowed Dr. King, Jr. to be assassinated.

American imperialism which has perpetrated aggression in Vietnam claiming to give Vietnam so-called freedom that does not exist at home has once again exposed its own true nature before world peoples.

Fostering a policy of racism, economic exploitation, oppression against black people at home, American imperialism has carried on aggression in Vietnam, attempted military provocation and nuclear blackmail against Korean people, continued military occupation of Japan's Okinawa and is using whole Japanese territory as bases for aggression in collusion with Japan's Sato government.

The struggle opposing American imperialisms war aggression in Vietnam nuclear blackmail policy and racism. We extend you solidarity support to your black liberation struggle.

THE JAPAN COUNCIL AGAINST ATOMIC HYDROGEN BOMBS

Last week an assassin bullet ended the life of the black North American leader Martin Luther King. It also ended an illusion that it was enough that a few could practice good so evil might vanish beneath the weight of its own conscience; the illusion that by resisting aggression the intent of the stynied. It was a noble illusion and produced many numerous and admirable acts of heroism. But a bullet in Memphis made reality spring forth immediately; the aggressor has no conscience, but he has power. And he attacks because he has the power to attack impunitively. It's not then his conscience that has to be attacked but his power.

It is not important that Johnson mourns the death of Luther King. His tears are as credible as his statement about Vietnam. Johnson is the representative of the rich and racist exploiters that control the life and death of North Americans black and white the same rich and racist exploiters that have filled their purses with money and their hands with power from the blood and sweat of Martin Luther King's brothers. They (the exploiters) are the ones who have accommodated the circumstances for this assassination. It does not matter that the assassin may be a poor devil that could gain nothing by his crime. Johnson and his kind are responsible for the state of mind of the assassin.

The true assassin is not the person who shot the bullet, but the one who created the circumstances that made the crime inevitable.

Against them is where the justice and anger of the black community ought to be directed, and racists that have the power. And not simply just to avenge in order to destroy the causes of the death and the oppression that motivated it.

The black North American community has demonstrated that it understands this and its struggle will be nearer now that a bullet destroyed the last that remained of the illusion and has left a naked reality.

Reality in the United States is violence, the violence against the oppressed. And nobody knows it better than the black community, that it has been suffering its violence since they brought them from Africa imported like merchandise.

If Johnson and his men have become afraid because black people have become tired of being oppressed and decided to come down upon their oppression, it is because now it is their turn to receive a part of the violence that they began.

For this reason Johnson speaks of nonviolence and epitome of hypocrisy, poses as a disciple of Martin Luther King.

With what force can the one who represents those that institute violence in the United States talk about non-violence? With what force can the one who has sent young men thousands of miles away to kill and die in Vietnam talk about non-violence?

If it were only possible to destroy oppression positively. But those who usurp power are not going to relinquish it so. It will have to be taken. The black North American community already know this.

Today we unite in battle with our black brothers in North America and we reaffirm more fervently our union in the struggle. Your enemy is ours. The victory will belong to both of us.

FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

The white racists of America have stolen the life of a tireless fighter for human brotherhood - Dr. Martin Luther King. A dastardly bullet claimed his valiant life.

Africa is shocked and angry at this new crime against our people. Our indignation will rise to avenge the countless deaths that African people suffer under white racist rule.

We mourn the passing of this noble son of our people and assure our brothers in the USA that we are with them in their struggle.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ●



Panthers Ambushed--One Murdered

The Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, is behind bars for life as a result of an attempted assassination on his life by the Oakland Police Department, the Gestapo strongarm of the racist power structure.

Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Hutton, and eight other brothers were ambushed by the Oakland pigs on April 6, 1968... a set-up to put Eldridge Cleaver in prison for life and to wipe out the leadership of the Black Panther Party.

As a result, Bobby Hutton is dead, brutally murdered by a volley of pig bullets as he surrendered with his arms above his head.

The Minister of Information's parole was immediately revoked, and he is now imprisoned for three years, and faces life imprisonment on the charges stemming from the ambush. Cleaver was shot, has numerous buckshot wounds in his legs, was severely burned by tear gas on his chest and in his eyes. Police transported Cleaver from Oakland to Vacaville State Medical Facility "for security reasons" under machine gun guard, chained to a wheelchair, and heavily drugged.

Bail for Eldridge Cleaver was set at $63,000 even though it is strictly nonfunctional bail since his parole was immediately revoked, without trial, indictment, hearing, conviction, investigation, or any type of due process of law.

Cleaver and Hutton were forced to take refuge in a house located at 1218 28th Street, when police opened fire on them, at about 9:05 p.m., on the night of April 6, 1968.

Over four dozen pigs armed with OVERKILL weapons such as 351 magnums, 12 gauge shotguns, machine guns, stoner guns, and varied hand pistols carried on a 90 minute shootout with the victims who used a total of FIVE weapons, only two of which were rifles.

Although the pigs and the racist press repeatedly try to call the police ambush a Panther set-up, within two minutes after the police had stopped and pulled their weapons at 2906 Union Street, an entire two-block area was blocked off around Union, Magnolia, 28th and 30th Streets, and dozens of Emeryville and Oakland police officers had (supposedly answering a call for reinforcements) appeared on the scene thoroughly equipped with riot helmets, OVERKILL weapons, tear gas bombs... AND had notified the local racist press, who were on the spot as evidenced by their pictures and falsified radio reports from 10pm throughout the night.

The pigs fired off at least 1500 rounds of ammunition and shot numerous tear gas bombs into the residence to force Cleaver and Bobby Hutton out as well as randomly dangering the safety of other ghetto dwellers on the same block by firing aimlessly into their houses. When this tactic failed, the pigs and members of the Oakland Fire Department set fire to the house and forced the two to surrender.

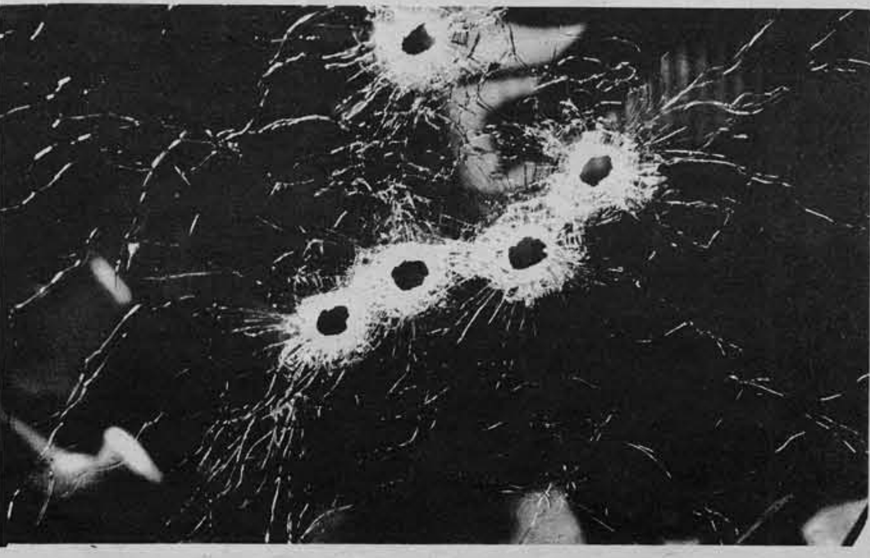
Driven out by the burning flames and the stifling fumes of the tear gas, Bobby surrendered first, staggering out with his hands up - DEFENSELESS, UNARMED, OVERCOME BY FUMES – putting himself at the evil mercy of the pigs who waited until they recognized him and then gunned him down, killing him instantly and riddling his lifeless body with bullets.

The Minister of Information, who had had Hutton take off his clothes in the basement, to determine the extent of his wounds, came out stark naked, and was kicked by police officers, before being shoved into custody.

Now being held in jail on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder are six other brothers who were arrested by police the same night while in the area: David Hilliard, 25; Wendell Wade, 23; Terry Cotton, 21; Charles Bursey, 21, and Donnell Lankford, 18; bail is $40,000 for each of them. Warren Wells, 21, was shot in the buttocks during the action, and is also under a $40,000 bail. John L. Scott, 17, is still being detained at Juvenile Hall, under a $40,000 bail.

All of the above named are plaintiffs in a suit against the City of Oakland, and the Chief of Police of Oakland, which seeks to temporarily and permanently enjoin Coakley, the District Attorney, from criminal prosecutions of NEWTON, SEALE, CLEAVER, HUDSON, HILLIARD, CARTER, BURSEY, COTTON, LANKFORD, WAD, WELLS, AND STAFFORD.

O O O O O O O O O O



POLICE MURDERED A MAN, IMPRISONED A MAN, JAILED SEVEN OTHERS, RUINED THIS HOUSE AT 1218 - 28th ST, OAKLAND, AND SHOWED THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD THE EXACT NATURE OF THE RACIST OPPRESION IN THE U.S.

STATEMENT

This statement was given by Eldridge Cleaver to Attorney Alex Hoffman at Vacaville on April 7 where Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, was finally imprisoned in solitary confinement following the police murder of Bobby Hutton and wounding of Cleaver in Oakland on April 6:

"It is my opinion that this is the latest in a series of attempts to liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party by the Oakland Police Department.

"Already they have moved against Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, and they are well advanced in framing Bobby Seale, our Chairman. And now, for the first time, they have moved directly against me, shooting me, and attempting to kill me.

"I think that this is a calculated plan that is being carried out."△

EDITORIAL:

This is the second pig set-up to waste the leadership of the Black Panther Party. Six months ago, the Oakland Pig Department sent Officer Frank Frey and Officer Heanes to West Oakland to wipe out the Minister of Defense.

In the resulting shootout, Frey lost his life, the Minister of Defense was wounded, and later arraigned and indicted on a charge of murder and attempted murder.

The aim of the racist power structure is to stop the growing unity and awareness of the black community to the 400 year old systematic enslavement and oppression to which it has been subjected.

By killing our leaders and using Nazi gestapo tactics on the streets of the black communities from coast to coast, and harrassing black people in their homes, on their jobs, in the schools, on the streets, on the television, on the news, in books and in church, the man is trying to instill a super fear of him, his technology, and his inhumanity to paralyze and immobilize our growing struggle for our God-given rights.

By attempting to murder Brother Huey, the pig sought to wipe out the Party. Instead he strengthened the Party, and the struggle throughout America, and focused the eyes of black people everywhere as well as white people on the racist oppression rampant in America today.

He killed Li'l Bobby and imprisoned Eldridge Cleaver in order to liquidate the leadership of the Party and to instill fear in the hearts of the residents of West Oakland, North Oakland, East Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, Fillmore and Hunter's Point and other Black communities in San Francisco and throughout the Bay Area.

Instead black people all over are realizing the nature and extent of the racist oppression and are beginning to mobilize against it.

The reports from all over the United States are increasing every day: Cop kills Negro; 3 looters shot to death; Riot toll: 36. And to this massacre black people are finally getting hip.

From now on, we hear either one of two things:

1. No more reports of our people being massacred OR
2. More dead cops shot down by black men.

A cop is nothing but a human dog, and can exit this world just as swiftly as he entered it. Or just as swiftly as Bobby Hutton left.

Either EVERYONE keeps his sight and keeps pushing for a better world or it's EYE for an EYE, tooth for a tooth.

Every time a black person dies at a white man's hand, a white man must die also. □

BOBBY/GARRY

Participants in the press conference pointed out that pictures and dossiers of Panther leaders have been distributed throughout California by the police along with description of the methods of dealing with them, that the entire pattern of the Oakland Police Department over a period of several months, predating October 28 when Newton was arrested on an alleged charge of murder, has been a concerted effort to harass and to kill and maim the militant leadership of the Black Panther Party.

On April 3, the police broke into a church where the Panthers were holding a meeting. The police came in with arms at the ready for action. Attorney for the Panther Party, Charles Garry, pointed out that even the Nazis did not have the audacity to break into places of worship. When the police broke into the church where the Panthers were meeting, he would not permit the sanctuary to be violated. The minister of the church stated at that time that the only time he had seen weapons around his church was when the police had them. Garry: "This is a classic example of racism on the part of the police establishment and this kind of conduct must stop."

"We intend to take action in the courts and exercise every right and to proceed immediately."

QUESTION: What do you intend to do about it?

BOBBY SEALE: "We have a platform and a program - the 10 Point Panther program. We aim to determine our own destiny in the Black Community, to have our own black police forces who live in the black community, jobs, decent education, and an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. And a fair trial tried by our own citizens."

SEALE: "We want nonviolence just like Martin Luther King." But we will not watch ourselves be slaughtered and shot. "We must defend ourselves by any means necessary. We will not attack anyone. Panthers never attack anyone but when pushed into a corner, like the brothers were last night, we must defend ourselves."

GARRY asked: "equality under law?" Eldridge Cleaver was on the staff of "Ramparts," he has written a best seller, but he was pushed round like an animal. He was taken from emergency hospital, transferred without attorneys knowing it, to San Quentin. This morning he was transferred to Vacaville. Right now he is unable to communicate with his attorneys. The theory under which he was removed was that he needed serious medical attention; this is specious in light of the fact that San Quentin has good medical facilities, that his wound is just a shot in the leg. "All at once his wound was so serious he was taken out of San Quentin -- and whisked out of the Bay Area."

cont. page 25, col. 3

FREE HUEY
FREE ELDRIDGE
FREE DEBRAY

Eldridge Cleaver, the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, has been arrested and imprisoned for a definite period of three years and faces life imprisonment at the whimsy of the white power structure. What has Eldridge done to incur the wrath of our legal society? What are his crimes? To understand more fully we will mentally travel 5000 miles to Bolivia and review a similar case.

On April 20, 1967, Regis Debray, author of REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLUTION, was arrested and charged with assisting the revolutionary movement in that country. Debray has reportedly been incessantly interrogated and tortured in an effort to make him confess crimes he never committed. Debray's only crime is that he carefully investigated and analyzed the revolutionary actions that were taking place in South America, and wrote a book, that would give new direction and impact to the activities of the revolutionaries in any part of the world. Debray is now being held incommunicado and threatened with death by the Bolivian government. Exit Debray.

Enter Eldridge Cleaver, author of SOUL ON ICE. With his first book Eldridge so poignantly exposed and analyzed the evolutionary processes that have led our society to its present state of being that his book became an immediate best seller and has been selected by McGraw - Hill as one of the books-of-the-year. Eldridge entered the political arena as a spokesman for the

ont. page 25, col. 3

DIG THIS

Credo for Rioters and Looters

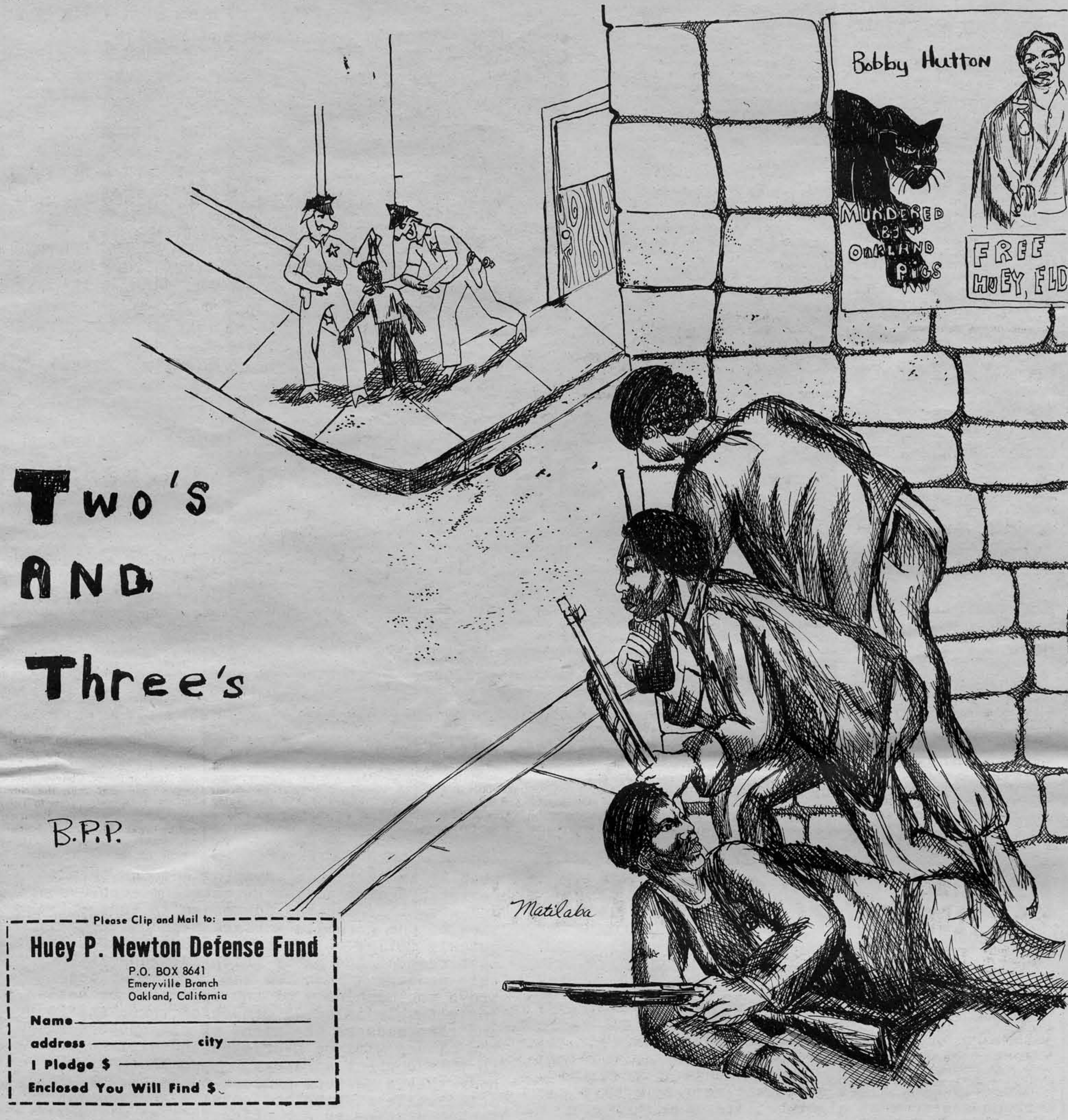
An anonymous cop in an anonymous city shoots to death an anonymous black youth suspected of stealing a car, and riots, on the heels of the news, sweep the nation. Widespread looting is reported in a dozen cities. Roving bands of black youths set buildings on fire. Snipers, firing on policemen and firemen, are reported in several cities. In two or three places, the National Guard is called out to restore order. "Responsible Negro Leaders", given prime time on radio and TV, appeal for calm; "Cool it, Baby," enjoin, but Baby isn't listening to them. Strangely, demonic, maniacal black demagogues raise their voices above the crescendo of chaos and madness, urging the marauders to burn America to the ground.

Before the last flames die down, a Blue Ribbon Commission, established by Presidential Decree, is instructed to investigate the cause of the disorders. Distinguished Congressmen, with the insight of their racism, already know the cause of the disorders and waste no time announcing it to an uneasy nation: Stokely Carmichael! Rap Brown! SNCC! LeRoi Jones! The Black Panthers! -- these apostles of violence are to blame!

Upwards of 20,000,000 black people, knowing you for the rotten, racist, murdering nation of white thievish hypocrites that you are, are no longer interested in explaining anything to you, America. Indeed, we understand that you already know all about it. We know that your investigations into the disorders are just a bunch of bullshit maneuvers designed to buy you time while you multiply and perfect your machinery of repression which you have already unleashed

cont. page 24, col. 4

No MORE Riots



Please Clip and Mail to:

Huey P. Newton Defense Fund
P.O. BOX 8641
Emeryville Branch
Oakland, California

Name ____________

address ________ city ________

I Pledge $ ____________

Enclosed You Will Find $ ____________

HOT LINE...

ZIMBABWE GUERRILLA FIGHTERS GAIN FORCE

(News from the Front) -- a press release featured in SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA April 5, 1968

As the second week of the ZAPU-ANC offensive nears its end, the boastful tones of the Ian Smith regime have given way to total silence with the imposition of a total ban on news about the fighting. The vicious attacks on the ZAPU-ANC alliance by the Rhodesian and South African radio services reflect their anxiety at the way things are going against them. It has now been confirmed that the helicopter previously reported shot by our guerrillas crashed and burnt up about 30 miles east of Karoi. The troops and crew of the helicopter were all killed.

Strong concentration of enemy troops are based in the Umvukwes, Sinoia, Sipolilo and Karoi areas from which they hope to fan out over the whole of the Northern Zimbabwe region in a vain attempt to gain the initiative. The Rhodesian and South African army personnel are digging in for a long campaign. Their aim is to try and encircle the guerrillas into an area which can then be subjected to maximum air and ground attacks by massive forces. Hospitals in Karoi and Sinoia have been taken over by the military in order to make way for the large casualties suffered by the enemy. Some medical personnel including doctors and nurses have also been brought in from South Africa to assist.

Throughout Zimbabwe the African people are giving militant support to the freedom fighters. The white settlers who oppress our people are now making absurd calls for Africans to help them against the freedom fighters. Security police are engaged in a campaign to deceive and confuse the people. In order to get information they are going around the country pretending to be supporters of the guerrillas, but the African people in these areas have seen through their tricks.

Messages of support from all over the world are continuing to pour into the ZAPU offices congratulating the joint forces of the ZAPU-ANC alliance on their successful offensive against the oppressors of Zimbabwe and South Africa. The fighting in the coming months will be tough and relentless. The ZAPU-ANC forces are working in accordance with long range plans based on mobilization of the masses in Zimbabwe and South Africa for a total war of liberation against White supremacy states in Southern Africa.



GUNS BABY GUNS

"The Spirit of The People is Greater Than The Man's Technology"

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!
HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!
HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!
HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!
HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!
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MINISTER OF DEFENSE

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In Defense Of Self Defense

THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION

by the MINISTER OF DEFENSE HUEY P. NEWTON

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Human beings do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the Black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops, this manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the Black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotove cocktail is not personally known by the masses,but the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leardership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably by gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantagious for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example. But first they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black prople in primary groups of two's and three's, but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insuffcient, many slave revolts occured.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation and through actual experience. The Black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good, but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The Black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore, it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the Black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the Black revolution in racist America.

cont. on page 26, col. 3

OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MENTTO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.

9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES, AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE, AND AS OUR MAJOR POLITICAL OBJECTIVE, A UNITED NATIONS-SUPERVISED PLEBISCITE TO BE HELD THROUGHOUT THE BLACK COLONY IN WHICH ONLY BLACK COLONIAL SUBJECTS WILL BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DETERMINING THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE AND OBLIGATED TO GIVE EVERY MAN EMPLOYMENT OR A GUARANTEED INCOME. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN WILL NOT GIVE FULL EMPLOYMENT, THE THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE BUSINESSMEN AND PLACED IN THE COMMUNITY SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY CAN ORGANIZE AND EMPLOY ALL OF ITS PEOPLE AND GIVE A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RACIST GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED US AND NOW WE ARE DEMANDING THE OVERDUE DEBT OF FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES. FORTY ACRES AND TWO MULES WAS PROMISED 100 YEARS AGO AS RESTITUTION FOR SLAVE LABOR AND MASS MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WILL ACCEPT THE PAYMENT IN CURRENCY WHICH WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO OUR MANY COMMUNITIES. THE GERMANS ARE NOW AIDING THE JEWS IN ISRAEL FOR THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE GERMANS MURDERED 6,000,000 JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.

WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY, THE THE HOUSING AND THE LAND SHOULD BE MADE INTO COOPERATIVES SO THAT OUR COMMUNITY, WITH GOVERNMENT AID, CAN BUILD AND MAKE DECENT HOUSING FOR ITS PEOPLE.

WE BELIEVE IN AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL GIVE TO OUR PEOPLE A KNOWLEDGE OF SELF. IF A MAN DOES NOT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY AND THE WORLD, THEN HE HAS LITTLE CHANCE TO RELATE TO ANYTHING ELSE.

WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE MILITARY SERVICE TO DEFEND A RACIST GOVERNMENT THAT DOES NOT PROTECT US. WE WILL NOT FIGHT AND KILL OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE WORLD WHO, LIKE BLACK PEOPLE, ARE BEING VICTIMIZED BY THE WHITE RACIST GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA. WE WILL PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THE FORCE AND VIOLENCE OF THE RACIST POLICE AND THE RACIST MILITARY, BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.

WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BLACK COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BLACK SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS THAT ARE DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BLACK COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES US A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.

WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM THE MANY JAILS AND PRISONS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL TRIAL. "

WE BELIEVE THAT THE COURTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SO THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. THE 14TH AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A MAN A RIGHT TO BE TRIED BY HIS PEER GROUP. A PEER IS A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, GEOGRAPHICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL, HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND. TO DO THIS THE COURT WILL BE FORCED TO SELECT A JURY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM WHICH THE BLACK DEFENDANT CAME. WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE BEING TRIED BY ALL-WHITE JURIES THAT HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF THE "AVERAGE REASONING MAN" OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHFR, AND TO ASSUME AMONG THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD ENTITLETHEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATION. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.

PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES; AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHEWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAN TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. BUT WHEN A LONG TRAIN OF ABUSES AND USURPATION, PURSUING INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT, EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH A GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.



Panthers Sue City of Oakland

A federal civil suit has been filed by the attorneys of HUEY P. NEWTON, BOBBY SEALE, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and 14 other members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to stop the systematic discrimination, cruelty and abuse, harrassment and intimidation, jailing and killing imposed and inflicted upon them by the Oakland pigs and the white power structure of the City of Oakland and the County of Alameda.

The plaintiffs are HUEY P. NEWTON, REV. EARL A. NEIL, BOBBY SEALE, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, AUDRY HUDSON, DAVID HILLIARD, ALPRENTICE CARTER, CHARLES E. BUSSEY, TERRY MACY COTTON, DONNELL JOSEPH LANKFORD, WENDELL WADE, WARREN WILLIAM WELLS, ROBERT BAY, GLEN STAFFORD, TERRY CLARIDY, AND RICHARD LINYARD. The defendants are CITY OF OAKLAND, a Municipal Corporation, JOHN READING, Mayor of Oakland, CHARLES GAIN, Chief of Police of Oakland, HERBERT HEANES, J. FRANK COAKLEY, District Attorney of Alameda County, SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ALAMEDA.

In the suit, the attorneys, GARRY, DREYFUS, McTERNAN & BROTSKY, listed those activities of the defendants which have been undertaken to destroy the Black Panthers, to frustrate and to prevent the program of the Black Panthers ... and the full equality of black citizens of California and residents of the Northern District of California.

FIRST CAUSE OF ACTION

1) The consistent and systematic actions of the Oakland Police Department to deprive plaintiffs of constitutional rights, to harass, crush, and intimidate; to kill, maim and wound; to arrest, detain and jail without reasonable, probable, or any cause, plaintiffs and Black Panthers causing defendant COAKLEY to prosecute same under unconstitutional California statutes:

2) the undue harrassment of Huey P. Newton for one year prior to Oct. 28, 1967, and the events of that night resulting in indictment and scheduled illegal and unlawful trial by defendants COAKLEY and the SUPERIOR COURT on May 6, 1968.

3) the unlawful entry and search into the home of Bobby Seale on February 25, 1968, and the criminal charges resulting entirely from the fruits of the illegal search and seizure forbidden by the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments.

4) the illegal search and resulting charges of the plaintiffs HUDSON, HILLIARD, and CARTER, the same night of February 25, 1968, upon leaving Seale's home.

5) the illegal and unlawful shooting to death of Bobby Hutton and the simultaneous arrests of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, BURSEY, COTTON, HILLIARD, LANKFORD, WADE and WELLS by numerous members of the Oakland Police Department.

6) the illegal arrest and conviction of SEALE on May 22, 1967.

7) the illegal entry and search on January 15, 1968 into the on January 15, 1968 into the home of ELDRIDGE and KATHLEEN CLEAVER, with guns drawn, and the ransacking of the plaintiff's home and disturbance and harrassment by the San Francisco Police Department with ugly and vulgar language and conduct.

8) the illegal jailing of BAY, STAFFORD, CLARIDY, and LINYARD on April 13, 1968, and the physical abuse of STAFFORD with chemical Mace, and their illegal and unlawful detainment until April 15.

9) the cruel and abusive treatment accorded Huey P. Newton while at Kaiser and Highland hospitals by members of the Oakland Police Department, including threats to kill or cause him to be killed, and the kicking and disarranging of NEWTON's hospital bed in an attempt to cause the failure of his wounds to heal.

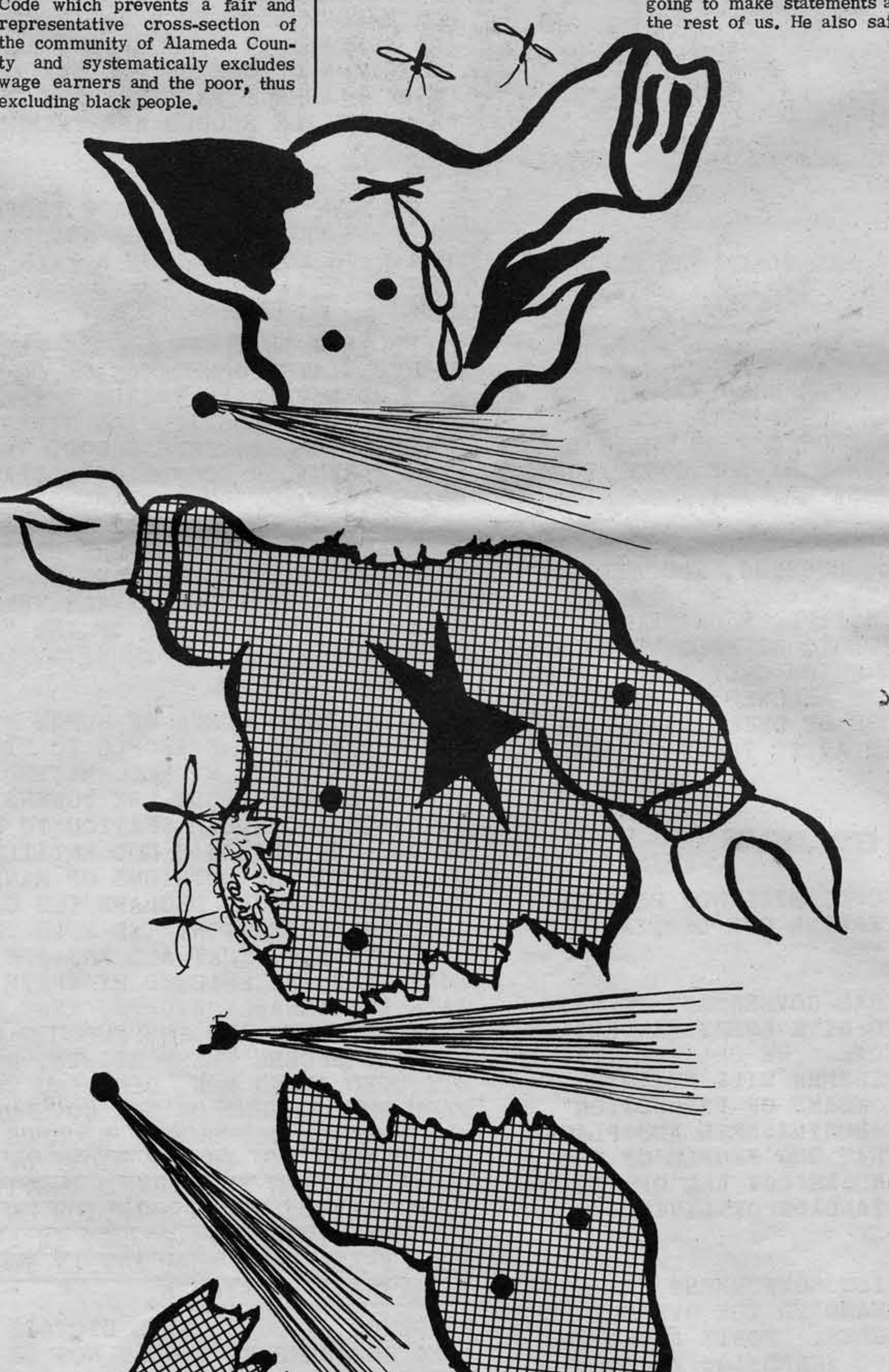
10) the illegal entry into St. Augustine's Church on April 3, 1968, with guns drawn while plaintiffs and Black Panthers were holding a peaceful meeting.

SECOND CAUSE OF ACTION:

1) the prevention of a fair trial for Huey P. Newton on May 6, 1968 because of the arrests and institution of criminal charges against the Black Panthers have been so widely and extensively publicized by the mass media; TV, radio, and the press; and because of the conduct of the Oakland Police Department and defendants, and because of the background of white racism, described in the report of the President's National Advisory Commission of Civil Disorders.

THIRD CAUSE OF ACTION:

1) Newton cannot get a fair trial because of the unconstitutional selection of Grand Juries set down in the California Penal Code which prevents a fair and representative cross-section of the community of Alameda County and systematically excludes wage earners and the poor, thus excluding black people.



FOURTH CAUSE OF ACTION

1) the criminal prosecutions against NEWTON were begun at the unfettered and unbridled discretion of COAKLEY by indictment rather than by information, after examination and commitment by a magistrate.

The following excerpts are from the notarized statements made by Black Panthers WELLS, WADE, LANKFORD, HILLIARD, and BURSEY after the night of April 6, 1968 during which Bobby Hutton, Black Panther subcaptain and treasurer, was murdered by officers of the Oakland Police Department.

The complete statements which are part of the federal suit by the Panthers against the City of Oakland, clearly show the systematic harrassment, threats, and intimidation by the Oakland Police Department to 1) confuse and deceive each of the brothers and turn them against each other and on Eldridge Cleaver by blatantly lying to each of them; 2) to get statements from them which would build up as much evidence against Eldridge Cleaver as possible so as to ensure his life imprisonment; 3) to intimidate them to the extent that they would agree to sign statements which would incriminate themselves and each other, and to make them do such without having their lawyer after repeated requests.

WELLS: "... They told me that if I did not cooperate with them and give them the statement that they wanted, they had the power to see that Eldridge Cleaver and I would be convicted of the murder of Bobby Hutton and that we would both be sent to the gas chamber... The officers took the statement, wrote it themselves, and then asked me to sign it, without letting me read it and without reading it back to me.

MINE SHOOTS TOO

WADE: "... He then asked me what kind of a gun I had, and then he pulled out a snub-nosed pistol and asked if the gun I had was loaded, and would shoot and said 'my gun can shoot, too.' During all this, he was pointing the gun right into my face."

LANKFORD: "... He then told me that Eldridge Cleaver had said that everybody had made statements against him, and so he was going to make statements against the rest of us. He also said that he already knew everybody who was involved and that he really didn't need my answers because he already knew everything anyway. But he said things would go very hard for me if I didn't give him the answers he wanted. He then asked me whether I was getting paid by the Black Panthers and said that nobody in the Black Panthers was getting any money except Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. He said the lawyers were only going to do work for those three who had the money and wouldn't do anything for the rest of us. He told me also that if I told any of the things he said to me to my lawyer, he would deny them all."

TOO MUCH TELEVISION

HILLIARD: "The officer told me I was a fool because it would only be bad for me to take the Fifth Amendment when I could answer Yes or No. Then I requested a phone call to my attorney. He said I couldn't call an attorney until he gets ready for me to call an attorney. Then he said I had been looking at television too much if I thought I had a right to call an attorney."

BURSEY: "... Sergeant Stevenson said, 'Eldridge Cleaver, that son-of-a-bitch, is no damn good and is just trying to bring everybody down with him because he knows he has no hope.' ... They also told me that if I wouldn't make a written statement I could just make an oral statement as long as I said that Eldridge Cleaver started everything and was to blame for everything...

"When I was first arrested in a house in Oakland ... the policemen who arrested me kicked me and told me that they should make me run out into the back yard and he said, 'Yes, I should shoot you down with your own gun.' I was frightened and didn't know what he meant because I did not have a gun. They took off my shoes there and kicked me so hard on my left foot that I still have a large bruise ... (later) in the room they had taken me two plainclothesmen were there and one told me if I didn't make a statement they would beat me to an inch of my life. He wrote out a thing similar to what I had told him previously at the house where I was arrested, but he told me that I had to add that I lost my shoes because they were two sizes too big for me while I was running... "

The affadavits of WELLS, STAFFORD, BAY, LANKFORD, HILLIARD, BURSEY, COTTON, WADE, AND TERRY CLARIDY are attached to the suit and show very plainly the direct manner in which harrassment, brutality, intimidation and cruelty by the Oakland Police Department have taken place. □□□



GOOD NEWS

Insurrection of the black residents of El Pueblo, a Pittsburg, Calif., housing project, took place April 16, 17, and 18, 1968.

Snipers wounded six police officers during the rioting whcih took place after six racist deputies arrested two black men who were rolling dice on a public sidewalk.

As they took the men into custody, the deputies were showered with rocks and bottles. When they returned an hour later, with reinforcements, the Sheriff's Dept. dismounted from their cars to patrol the area on foot - and were caught in sniper fire from five directions.

It took all of the Concord, Pittsburg, Antioch, and Martinez suburban police depts. 7½ hours to clear the streets. One brother was injured during the night.

Earlier in the month rioting had occurred at Pittsburg High School and Central Junior High School. Four students were kicked out of school as a result, all of them black.

The residents of this ghetto housing project clearly show us that guerilla warfare is the key: Their uprising put six honkies out of commission, only one brother was injured, and no black people were killed.

From now on, planned organized rebellion is the only way we carry on our revolution: Power to the people and black power to black people.O



WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT from military service

CLEVE RAILROADED INTO PRISON

ATLANTA, GA. . . Cleveland Sellers, SNCC Field Secretary, was sentenced to 5 years in prison 4/26/68 for refusal to serve in the the U.S. Armed Forces. Judge Newell Edenfield of the U.S. District Court in Atlanta gave Sellers the maximum sentence of 5 years---and refused to set an appeal bond. He also refused to tell Defense Atty. Howard Moore Jr. when he would set a date for a Hearing to Set Bond, which was requested by Sellers and Atty. Moore. Judge Edenfield even stated that "he did not think Sellers deserved bond." He made it clear that he was in no hurry to set a bond hearing and would take his time. After hearing his sentence, Cleve Sellers made this statement to the court:

"This court cannot sentence me. I am a Black man and this court is racist and it's for white folks. I believe, as every institution in this country is racist, this court falls into that same category. The only people who can sentence me are Black people, and I see none; therefore the only thing I can say is that you be prepared to carry out whatever you will and I will fight--as the rest of my Black brothers are fighting for the liberation of Black people. Until my death, I will fight for that.

Whatever you do, whatever your determination, it has nothing to do with how I move and how I have acted heretofore and how I will act from now on; because I have recognized that there's a conscious attempt on the part of the courts in this country, federalgovernment and every other agency to destroy Black people inside this country. It is implicit in my case and I recognized that with the murder of Martin Luther King. The only solution to my problem is a fight to my death . . . or to fight until I am liberated."

An appeal will be filed within 10 days by Defense Atty. Howard Moore J.

Cleve is being held in Fulton County Jail, 1135 Jefferson St.N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. Phone, 876-8262. Brothers and sisters are urged to call the jail collect for Cleve Sellers to let the "hunky court" know that we stand with him.■

DONATIONS OF TYPEWRITERS, DESKS, FILE CABINETS, OFFICE SUPPLIES, MONEY, CARS, ALL TOOLS OF NEWSPAPER PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, ALL SIZES, SHAPES, COLORS, WELCOME AND DESPERATELY NEEDED BY THE BLACK PANTHER. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY needs REPORTERS, EDITORS, WRITERS, PHOTOGRAPHERS, ARTISTS, AND PEOPLE TO WORK WITH LAYOUT. Call 654-2003 in OAKLAND, or come to BLACK PANTHER PARTY CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, 4421 Grove Street, in OAKLAND.

EYES OF THE WORLD ON U.S. RACISM

STOKELY ON KING

(ANS) Washington, D.C., April 15: This is the text of Prime Minister Carmichael's first and only open press conference since his return to the U.S.

BRO. MCKINNIE: This press conference will be for only five minutes and as soon as the press conference is over you gentlemen will not leave anything here...Your films, your cigarette butts, you take them with you. You waste any water, you will have to clean it up. We will have a few questions...To my right, Cleveland Sellers, Director of the Orangeburg, S.C. project for SNCC...Right here, immediately right, is Stokely Carmichael, who will start here in Washington, D.C., and to my left, Winkie Hall, who is also a member of the staff of Washington. Carmichael will speak to you five minutes.

BRO. CARMICHAEL: You may or may not know that this press conference was called before Dr. King's murder. We called it then to deal with Brother Rap Brown because we were very upset. Brother Rap Brown had been in jail for 41 days and Gov. Agnew of Maryland still seems to persist with his nonsensical charges so the Brother can't get out of jail and we want the Brother out of jail next week when he comes to trial.*

As for Dr. King's murder, I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. King last night because when she killed Dr. King last night, she killed all reasonable hope. When she killed Dr. King last night she killed the one man of our race that this country's older generations, the militants and the revolutionaries and the masses of black people would still listen to. Even though sometimes he did not agree with them, they would still listen to him.

When white America killed Dr. King she opened the eyes of every black man in this country. When white America got rid of Marcus Garvey, she did it and said he was an extremist, that he was crazy. When they got rid of Brother Malcolm X, they said he was preaching hate, that he deserved what he got.

When they got rid of Brother Martin Luther King, they had absolutely no reason to do so. He was the one man in our race who was trying to teach our people to have love, compassion and mercy for what white people had done. When white Americans killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying and there will be no funeral.

The rebellions that have been occurring around these cities and this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen.

We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders. The execution for those deaths will not be in the court rooms. They're going to be in the streets of the United States of America.

The kind of man that killed Dr. King last night made it a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussion. Black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry since she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael.

But when she killed Dr. King, she lost it.

QUESTION: We want a statement from the organization.

MCKINNIE: We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee wish to extend our condolences to the family of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was brutally murdered in Memphis, Tenn. This is a lesson which white America has taught us many times before. This lesson was clear in the murder of our four brothers in Orangeburg. This lesson was clear in the murder of the 16 year old Larry Payne in Memphis. This lesson was clear in the day-to-day torture of black people by white people in America and throughout the world.

It was to end this torture that Dr. King bravely faced death many times --nonviolently. Dr. King was a brother who dedicated his life to liberating his people through nonviolence. Dr. King was a symbol of nonviolence and white America shot him down.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, don't you believe that the vast majority of Americans feel just as badly as you do about what happened to Dr. King?

CARMICHAEL: The honky from honky Lyndon Johnson to honky Bobby Kennedy will not co-opt Dr. Martin Luther King -- Dr. Martin Luther King or black people. It was not but four weeks ago when Johnson told King that if he came marching into the District he'd need a voice because he should bring his troubles to him and now tonight he's trying to make as if Dr. King was his hero.

He fooled no one. Bobby Kennedy pulled that trigger just as well as anybody, else, because when Dr. King was down south, Bobby Kennedy was attorney general.

Every time a black person got killed Kennedy wouldn't move because he wanted votes, so he is just as guilty as all of white America who killed Dr. King. And those who feel sorry ought to feel sorry.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, what do you intend to do? What action do you intend to take relative to Rap Brown?

CARMICHAEL: We decided at our central committee meeting that if Maryland persists with this nonsensical charge, even though the reports said Rap did not incite any riot in Cambridge -- well, then, Gov. Agnew - he ain't seen nothing if he thinks he's done something on that Bowie State thing.

We will take our troops back into Maryland and all of us veterans from Cambridge, Md., and from Baltimore, Md., and we will turn that State inside out and upside down, and we've got Louisiana to get.

We've got some brothers working in Florida. We've got some brothers working in Ohio and we're going to get Richmond, Va.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, what do you think will happen to the Poor Peoples Campaign?

CARMICHAEL: I understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will carry it on, and as we said before, we will be glad to give them any support. Whatever the Southern Christian Leadership Conference asks for today we will give to them, except our tears. We will not give any more tears for any black man killed.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, do you see anybody replacing Dr. King as a nonviolent leader.

CARMICHAEL: NO! That's why America lost when she shot him down last night.

Q: What do you say to black people who have to die to do what you say.

CARMICHAEL: That they take as many white people with them as they can. We die every day. We die in Vietnam for the honkies. Why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people? We die every day. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. We cut and fight and kill each other off. Let's kill off the real enemies!

Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails. We die in your ghettos. We die in your rat-infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. We're not afraid to die, because now we're gonna die for our people.

MCKINNIE: On Monday our chairman, Rap Brown, will be in Richmond, Va., according to the honky Federal Government. And there will be a car caravan to Richmond, Va., on Monday morning. We're urging all our black brothers and sisters to come to Richmond.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, what's the alternative to this kind of retribution in the streets that you are talking about? Is there any way to stop it?

CARMICHAEL: I don't think so I do not think so. I think white

cont. page 25, col. 1

SEALE ON KING

STATEMENT BY BOBBY SEALE UPON HIS RETURN FROM DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S FUNERAL IN ATLANTA, GA., APRIL 11, 1968.--Oakland, California

Black people must retaliate against the brutal actions of the racist pig cops in Oakland and in all other cities around the country. From all analyses that black militants have, the racist power structure from Lyndon Baines Johnson on down in fact murdered Dr. Martin Luther King. With the direct assistance of the Memphis Police Department, the power structure had Dr. Martin Luther King assassinated as a means of baiting black people into accepting the idea that one who lives by the sword dies by the sword, when in fact we know, we black people of America, that Brother Martin Luther King did not live by the sword.

Real racism -- the oppressive conditions we are subjected to: gross unemployment, indecent housing, bad education, draft of black men into military service, the robbery by the white racist businessman of our black communities, the railroading through the courts, concentration camp techniques of the prison system, and the atrocious actions of murder and brutality on the part of the racist police department throughout the fascist United States -- is what Brother King was opposed to and what our murdered Brother Bobby Hutton was opposed to also.

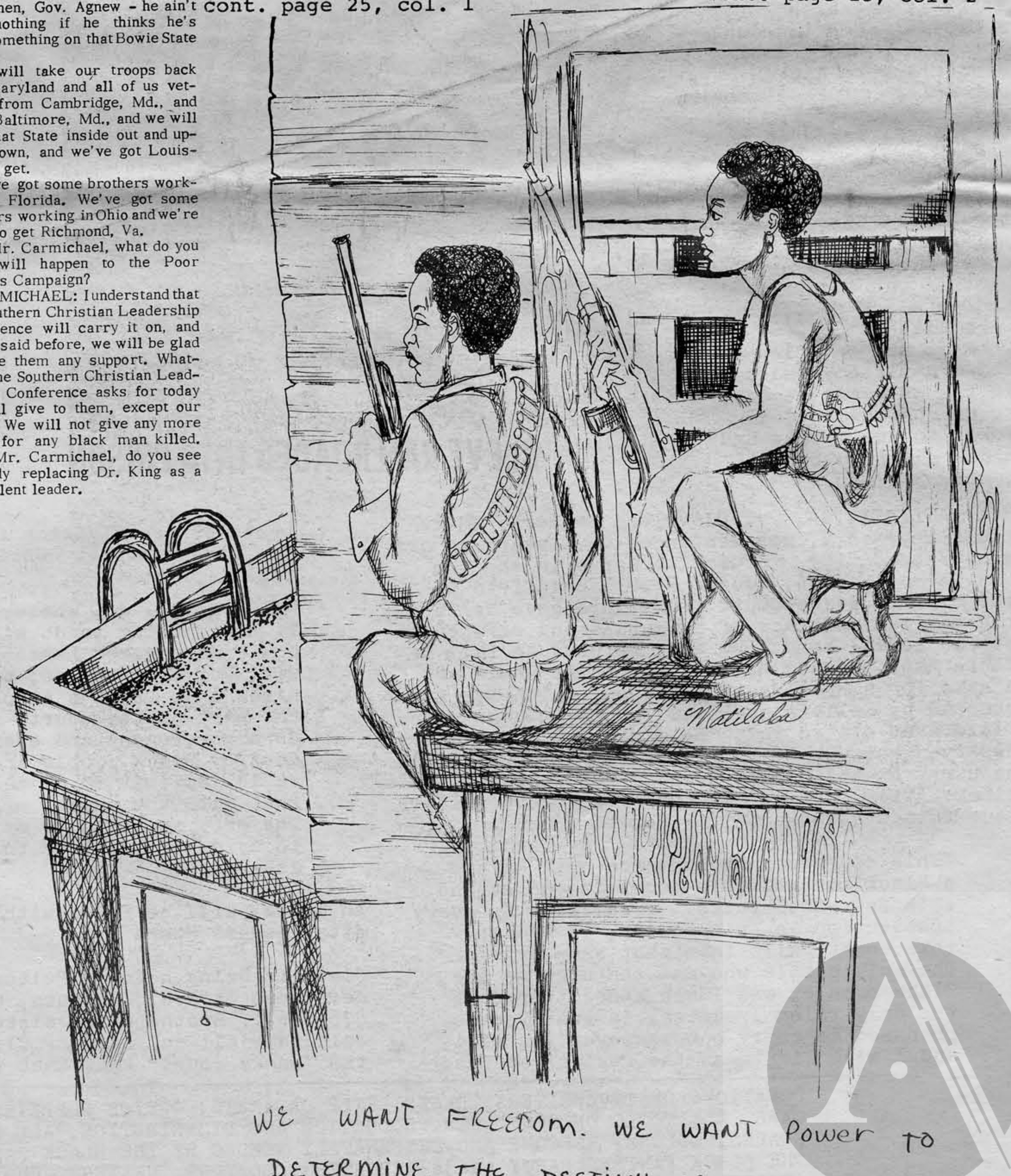
It is what our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who was viciously attacked, brutalized, shot, teargassed, bruised, and imprisoned by the Oakland pig cops, was opposed to.

The B.P.P. demands that the black community have its own police force, that the men who police our community must live in our community. Black policemen must be chosen and controlled by the people of the black community. Therefore, as Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, states: "The racist dog police must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder, brutalization and torture of the black people, or face the wrath of the armed people."

The black community faces a grave situation, which is manifested in this people's rebellion against the racist, decadent system of mad dog America. Of the over 105 rebellions since Harlem in July, 1964 plus the over 100 rebellions since the assassination by the racist power structure of Dr. Martin Luther King, it is crystal clear, as Brother Stokely Carmichael says, that maximum retaliation on the part of the black community as a whole is in fact the order of the day whether H. Rap Brown is in prison or not.

When we defend ourselves by any means necessary, we see that in fact Brother Robert Williams, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, and Brother Malcolm X who

cont. page 25, col. 2



WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

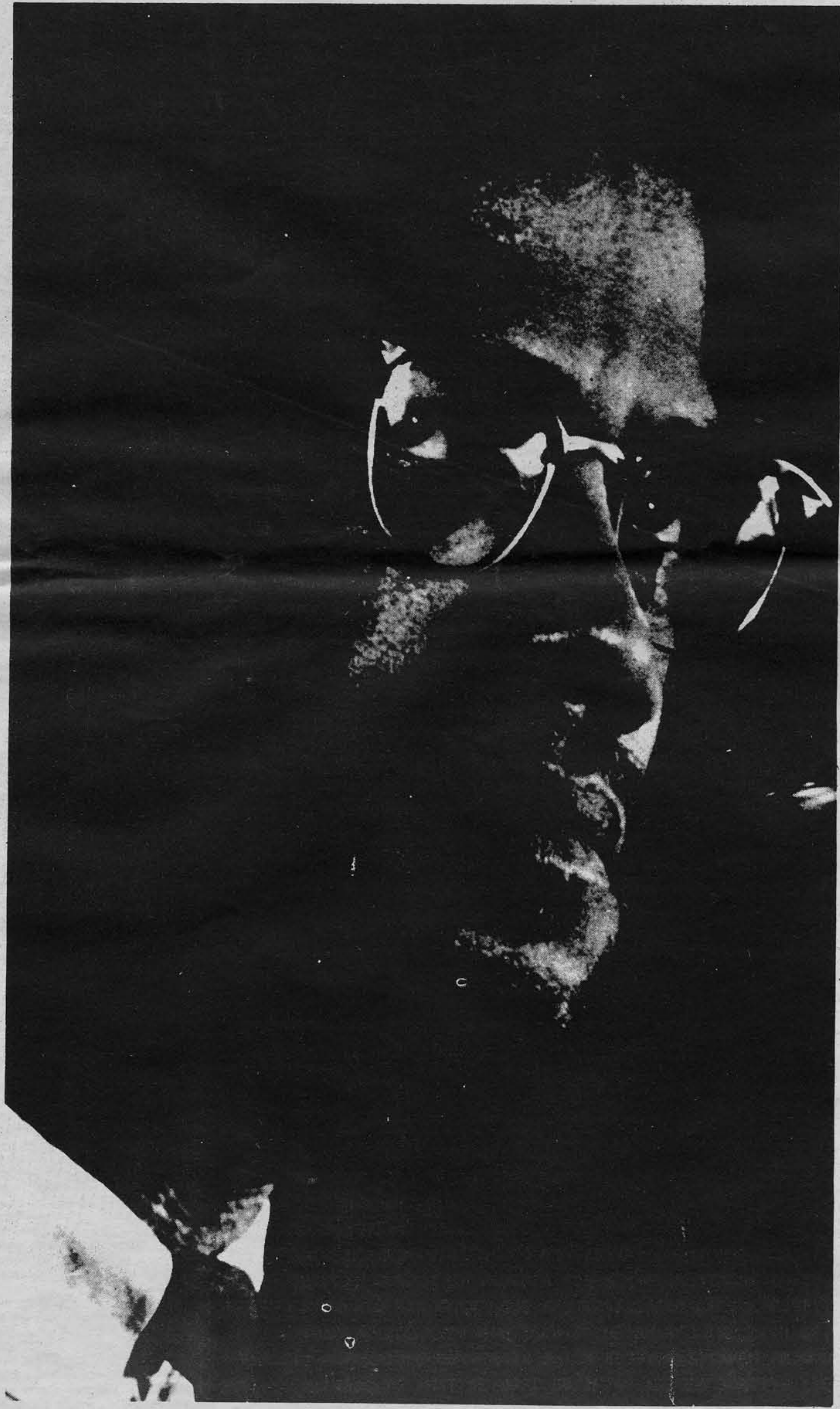
PAY HOMAGE TO BROTHER MALCOLM ON MAY 19
DO NOT GO TO SCHOOL DO NOT GO TO WORK

REMEMBER THE WORDS OF

MILLIONS OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE MAKING YOUR DREAMS COME TRUE

BROTHER MALCOLM

Born May 19, 1925



Assasinated Feb 21, 1965

May 19th is a national holiday for all black colonialized people across the nation. The day marks the birth of our great brother and leader Malcolm X who was assassinated Feb. 21, 1965, for speaking the truth and raising the consciousness of black people.

Malcolm's philosophy was black nationalism by any means necessary; that black people have social, economic, and political control of their community and total control of their destiny. Malcolm said: "You get freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it.

"Whenever you're going after something that belongs to you anyone who's depriving you of that right to have it is a criminal. Understand that. Whenever you are going after something that is yours, you are within your legal rights to lay claim to it, and anyone who puts forth any effort to deprive you of that which is yours, is breaking the law, is a criminal . . .

"Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? THE POLICE DEPARTMENT itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on our side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law, they are not representatives of the law.

Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog. Kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it, if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill that dog. Then you'll put a stop to it. Now if these white people in here don't want to see that kind of action, get down and tell the mayor to tell the police department to pull the dogs in. That's all you have to do. If you don't do it, someone else will.

BLACK PAPER BY THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION

Introductory Statement on Position Paper:

The following Black Paper by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, was presented to the Peace & Freedom Party Founding Convention in Richmond on March 16, 1968. It contains the nucleus of a political analysis that he was in the process of elaborating, refining, and putting into practice. The most explosive thrust of the paper is in its presentation of the Black Plebiscite.

The Black Plebiscite, a UN supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the US to allow black people to vote on the question of whether they want to be citizens of America or have a sovereign nation of their own, is an idea Eldridge Cleaver has been working on for several years. However, it was in this position paper that it was first presented publically to a large audience.

The fact that he has now been effectively silenced and immobilized by the white power structure so soon after announcing the plebiscite is no accident. It was also shortly after Brother Malcolm called for Afro-Americans to take our problems to the UN that he was assassinated.

* * * * *

REVOLUTION IN THE WHITE MOTHER COUNTRY AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE BLACK COLONY

The Black Panther Party believes that the era in which we now struggle can be characterized as the Age of the Showdown -- between Oppressed People Everywhere and the Racist Imperialist Power Structure. This era can be further defined as that in which significant sectors of the exploiting population have turned away from the system, have declared war upon the system that has warped their lives and tainted their existence at the same time that it was doing the same thing and worse to those whom it oppresses. We recognize these alienated people as allies or potential allies in a struggle against a common enemy.

We start with the basic definition: that black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized Imperialist force holding black people in colonial bondage. From this definition our task becomes clearer: what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony. To achieve these ends we believe that political and military machinery that does not exist now and has never existed must be created. We need functional machinery that is able to deal with these two inter-related sets of political dynamics which, strictly speaking, make up the total political situation on the North American continent. Ideally, we need a revolutionary organization that is able, guided by a revolutionary ideology and comprehending the necessity involved, to move in two directions at the same time. We are here tonight because we believe that the Peace and Freedom Party is the beginning of the answer to one half of this equation and that the Black Panther Party is the beginning of the answer to the other half. We do not delude ourselves with the notion that we have found or that we represent or that anybody else has found or represents any final solutions to age-old problems, but we do feel that the Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party have made a significant breakthrough and have indisputably upped the ante.

THE COALITION

The Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party in the Bay Area have been experimenting over the past few months with a very narrow coalition around a very broad subject. The focal point of the coalition is now, and has always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator, and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications. It is a fact that in a very short time these infant political facts have become forces with which the old, established forces must contend. We must recall that the Peace and Freedom Party has been on the ballot only a couple of months, it is less than a year old, and is still wearing the diaper of its liberal democratic parentage. The Black Panther Party is less than two years old and the coalition of which we speak is less than five months old. For newborn children, we are already doing a man-size job. This is a source of great optimism and enthusiasm for us, because if in our infancy we are able to do a man-size job, we can dream that when we grow to maturity we can do the giant-size work that history has cut out for us.

The coalition between our two fraternal parties is based upon Carmichael's dictum of specific coalitions for specific purposes. We think that this dictum is functional and proper and that it provides a basis for unlimited action with no strings attached. On the basis of this dictum, we think that ultimately we can develop a specific coalition for the specific purpose of destroying capitalistic exploitation and racism. We have freedom to move as far and with such speed as our understanding and imagination and commitment will allow us. We believe that cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and their counterpart in the black colony is absolutely and unequivocally desirable and necessary. We believe that it is suicidal and nonsensical for such potential allies to remain aloof and isolated from each other any longer. All that is needed is for those who fulfill the vanguard function to supply the form of this cooperation. We believe that henceforth the form of cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and those in the colony must be on a coalition basis. We believe that all black colonial subjects should be members of the Black Panther Party, and that all American citizens should be members of the Peace and Freedom Party. We invite other oppressed and colonized people in America to organize themselves and to join our coalition as equal partners. We feel that it is a political mistake of the first order to try and develop a multi-national, all-inclusive political party at this time; to do so would only compound existing confusion and erect new obstacles to the real work that can and must be done. The Black Panther Party looks upon the black members of the Peace & Freedom Party as misguided political freaks who are trying to maintain their dual status in an incorrect manner; they have one foot in the mother country and the other foot in the colony, and their political manhood gets strangled on the borders separating the two nations.



THE DUAL STATUS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN BABYLON

Black people in North America have always been plagued by a dual status. We were both slave and Christian. We were both free and segregated, we are both integrated and colonized. In the past this duality has worked to our disadvantage. It kept us running around in circles. Today we propose to turn it to our advantage, in the manner that we have turned our blackness from a disadvantage into a rallying point of advantage. Yesterday we were black and oppressed; today our blackness is a tool for our liberation. Our dual status gives us a mythical right of citizenship and the concrete reality of our situation has given us the national consciousness of an oppressed and colonized people. We intend to use them both wisely. The citizenship that we have on paper we will use through the mechanism of our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party. We will use our papier-mache right to vote to help strengthen the Peace and Freedom Party and to help it attain its objectives within the framework of political realities in the mother country. Our major emphasis, or direction, and our perspective, however, are inward -- into the black heart of the colony. Our goal is to organize black people for national liberation. In this, our primary task, political reality in the white mother country can only have peripheral and supportive importance. The duality of our status dictates the duality of our strategy.

THE BLACK PLEBISCITE

As our major political objective, the Black Panther Party is calling for a Black Plebiscite, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate. The plebiscite is for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny. In the past many people and organizations have stated what they believed the will of black people to be. The Black Panther Party believes that it is the right of black people to state for themselves the destiny that they desire. We feel that the burning question to which only such a plebiscite can supply the answer is: Whether the black people want to be integrated into Babylon, or whether they want to be separated into a sovereign nation of their own, with full status and rights with the other nations of the world, including UN membership and diplomatic recognition by the other nations of the world. Through our Minister of Foreign Affairs, James Forman, we have conducted a preliminary poll of certain key members of the UN and have learned to our utter satisfaction but not to our surprise, that they are receptive to the idea of the Black Plebiscite. In our perspective on our struggle for liberation, the Black Plebiscite would play a key function. In the colonial analogy, it would correspond to the role of the first or the key political campaign that happened in all countries emerging from colonial bondage. In Guinea the political focus was provided by the campaign against De Gaulle's Constitution. In Ghana it was the national election that placed Kwame Nkrumah at the head of the government. The campaign leading to the Plebiscite would be the means of solidly organizing Afro-America along national lines. Committees organized by people on both sides of the national question will spring up throughout the black colony. The issue will be hotly debated, and people will be organized around the issues involved. The entire political fabric of the mother country would be thrown into a crisis. The argument of those who oppose black national independence would be that blacks do not need it because they are citizens of white America. Our argument would be simply to point out the facts, the reality of the black man's status in white America. Here our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party will become functional because the members of the Peace and Freedom Party whom we will have strategically helped to elect could argue for our position within the Senate and House of Representatives, the State Legislatures, and the city councils.

For those who view the land question, that is, the absence of geographical boundaries of our dispersed colony, as an insuperable obstacle to nationhood, we say that we will hold the land question in abeyance. We follow the dictum of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto you." What the black man in Babylon needs is organized black power, and with that political power he can carve out his place in the sun -- and it won't be on a reservation or in the gas chambers, as certain madmen propose and certain other panic-stricken people fear.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

We have offered our leader, Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, as a candidate for the Seventh Congressional District of Alameda County and we have offered our Chairman, Bobby Seale, as a candidate for the 17th Assembly District. In San Francisco, we have offered our Communications Secretary, Kathleen Cleaver, for a candidate in the 18th Assembly District. The advantages in doing this are manifold. First and foremost, we are interested in setting Huey P. Newton free. By running Huey P. Newton for Congress we are uniting the revolutionary political arena with the conventional political arena, and thereby obliterating the distinction between the two. We are able to focus attention in all our campaigns on a revolutionary leader with a revolutionary program within the conventional political context. In over-sophisticated and decadent "revolutionary" circles, this is called "heightening the consciousness of the masses." In practical terms, this kind of campaign becomes another tool for political organization for black power. Our purpose in entering the political arena is to send the jackass back to the farm and the elephant back to the zoo. We want to put the Establishment uptight. We want to put the black lackeys and bootlickers of the Demo/Republican Party out of business; some of them will be sent back to the farm, and others can also go to the zoo with the elephants. We want to pull people out of the Democratic Party, out of the Republican Party, and swell the ranks of the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party on the basis outlined above.

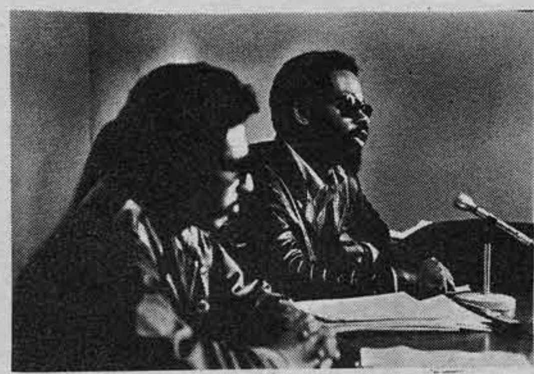
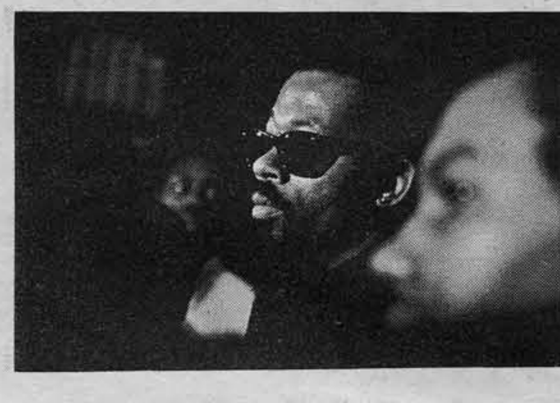
PROGRAM OF THE PANTHERS

1. We believe that every human being on the face of the planet

cont. page 25, col. 1.

Free Eldridge

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION



MINISTER OF INFORMATION, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER









FEATURE STORY NEXT EDITION

'He Was The

BOBBY JAMES HUTTON
April 21, 1950 - April 6, 1968

LIL BOBBY WAS THE VERY FIRST MEMBER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY - AT 14 YEARS OF AGE. IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE PARTY, LIL BOBBY, HUEY, AND BOBBY CANVASSED THE STREETS OF OAKLAND, BERKELEY, AND RICHMOND - TOGETHER.



LIL BOBBY photographed with friends and coworkers at Free Huey rallies at Alameda County Courthouse during January, 1968.



LIL BOBBY talking to Revolutionary Artist Emory: both marched on Sacramento legislature and were arrested on May 2, 1967.

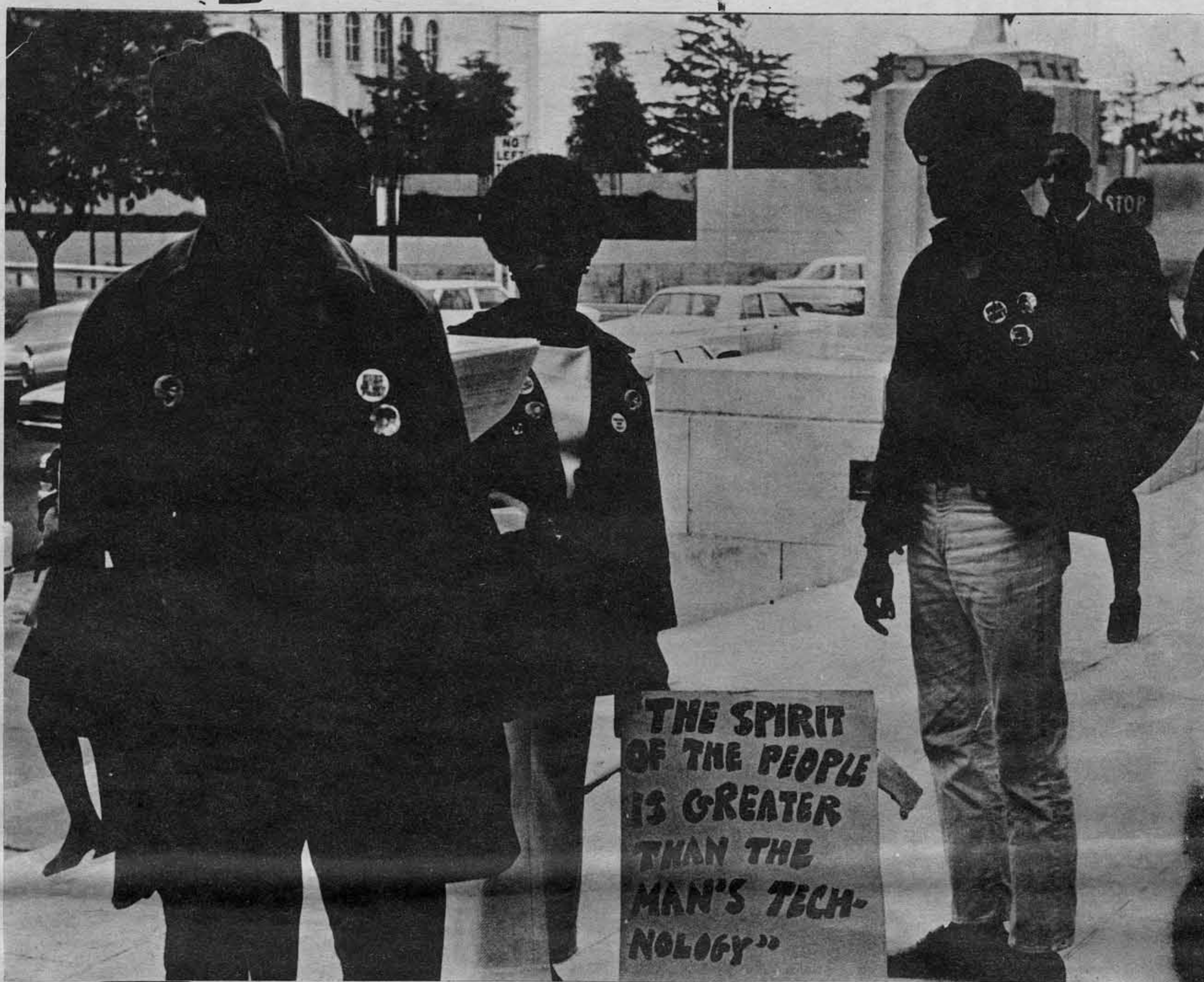


LIL BOBBY with
right) Malik, E
Cleaver and Dor
ford(both charg
attempted murde
April 6, 1968),
Seale and young
tionary Panther
ing sign: FREE
BROTHER.

he Beginning...' HUEY P. NEWTON Minister of Defense



ry:
re



LIL BOBBY stands with Panthers Ramisi and Warren Tucker in front of sign: The Spirit of the People is Greater than the man's Technology.

BBY with (left to
Malik, Eldridge
r and Donnell Lank-
oth charged with
ted murder on
5, 1968), Bobby
and young revolu-
y Panther hold-
gn: FREE MY BLACK
R.



LIL BOBBY with Panthers Glenn Stafford, Sam Napier(back of head shown only), and Jimmie Charlie(in back of Lil Bobby's cap).

OVER 2500 Attend Funeral



Funeral services for Bobby Hutton, slain Black Panther, were held Friday, April 13, 1968, at Ephesians Church of God in Christ in Berkeley, California.

Historically the event of the funeral has brought black people together, their common plight and destiny realized by death. Following this tradition, over 2,000 black people – young and old, sad, angered, shocked, moved, and grieving – gathered together to pay last respects to the seventeen year old Panther murdered in cold blood by members of the Oakland Police Department April 6, 1968.

A tribute to Lil Bobby from the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, was read by the Chairman, Bobby Seale; and five ministers including George Murray, the Minister of Education, the Rev. Earl Neil, at whose church Panther meetings have been held, and Rev. E.E. Cleveland, the pastor of Ephesians, rendered moving and militant addresses.

FIRST MILITANT PREACHERS

One of the first speakers, Rev. C. Emerson, emphasized "there are only two realities for slaves, BROTHERHOOD and FREEDOM" and that Lil Bobby's life was validated and made worthwhile because he caught a vision of liberty, and knew that no one had to apologize for wanting freedom, or for defending oneself.

Rev. Neil opened his militant sermon: "You meant it for good, but God meant it for good."

He said the man wants us to believe that if Bobby were not a Panther, he would not have been killed, then noted that Emmett Till, Charles Parker, Medgar Evers, Malcom X and Martin Luther King were brutally murdered, though none of them were members of the Black Panther Party.

RACISM REAL KILLER

"Membership in the Black Panther Party," he stated, "did not murder anyone, nor did it kill Bobby Hutton.

"White racism killed all of them in reality." He noted that five white people had been killed in the civil rights movement who were not members of the Black Panther Party; yet, they too were murdered by racism.

"Bobby sold hunger for liberation, and the racist system fed him oppression... Bobby's eulogy is that God took Bob's life and straightened out what the system tried to do.

"Today we are here for Bobby Hutton. Tomorrow, it could be any one of us."

Elder Cleveland spoke at length of the hog in the stream, saying the water had been pure and clean, but had become tainted and muddy. He asserted the stream needed to be cleaned of the pigs so that everyone could get a fresh drink of water.

He pointed to the news photographers and reporters gathered on the balcony of the church, telling them they would never be able to snap the hearts of black folk. FREE AT LAST, FREE AT LAST..

The Minister of Education, George Murray, who was one of eight Black Panther pallbearers at the funeral quoted first the scripture verse, "Greater love hath no man than he who lays down his life for his friend," then the inscription from the grave of Martin Luther King: Free at last, Free at last, Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last.

He said, "He gave his life for us, his life continues because we're alive, thus he's living because we're living."

He paid direct tribute to the parents of Bobby Hutton: "You gave black people a warrior... your upbringing and the environment you provided him led him to be one." Then he turned to those gathered and asked, "How many people are willing to follow his example? If we truly love and respect him and his courage, we would do the same thing.

"The legacy he leaves is the memory we all inherit. It is mandatory for those of us in this audience to be together with an undying love for one another and all of our people, and struggle to make sure no other 17 or 18 year old brothers die in the same brutal manner."

A uniformed Black Panther honor guard solemnly lined the walls of the church, and filed out of the church past the open casket, leading the recessional, in paying the last respects to Bobby Hutton.

Over three hundred people proceeded to Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland, California, where interment took place. ● ● ●





Black Panther Pallbearers George Murray, Steve Adams, and Emory carry the casket of slain freedom fighter; A tearful Mrs. Dollie Hutton, mother of Bobby Hutton, is accompanied by relatives out of Ephesians Church after funeral. Top to bottom: Panther Honor guard waits solemnly to pay last respects to slain brother Bobby Hutton;



House of Umoja (Unity) expresses its condolences to the family and friends of Brother Bobby James Hutton and to the members of the Black Panther Party who were wounded in battle with our oppressors.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

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718A PST APR 12 68 LD081

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BOBBY JAMES HUTTON FAMILY, CARE KATHLEEN CLEAVERS

850 OAK ST OAKLAND CALIF

THE QUESTION IS NOT WILL IT BE NON-VIOLENCE VERSUS VIOLENCE BUT WHETHER A HUMAN BEING CAN PRACTICE HIS GOD GIVEN RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE.

SHOT DOWN LIKE A COMMON ANIMAL HE DIED A WARRIOR FOR BLACK LIBERATION.IF THE GENERATION BEFORE HIM HAD NOT BEEN AFRAID HE PERHAPS WOULD BE ALIVE TODAY.

REMEMBER LIKE SOLOMON THERE IS A TIME FOR EVERYTHING. A TTIME TO BE BORN, A TIME TO DIE, A TIME TO LOVE, A TIME TO HATE, A TIME TO FIGHT AND A TIME TO RETREAT. IN THE NAME OF BROTHERHOOD AND SURVIVAL REMEMBER BOBBY. IT COULD BE YOU YOUR SON YOUR HUSBAND OR YOUR BROTHER TOMORROW. CRIMES AGAINST AN INDIVIDUAL ARE OFTEN CRIMES AGAINST AN ENTIRE NATION. TO HIS FAMILY ONLY TIME CAN ELIMINATE THE PAIN OF LOSING HIM BUT MAY HE BE REMEMBERED IN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF ALL US

BETTY SHABAZZ

ODE TO BOBBY HUTTON

Bobby Hutton was a man,
Freedom was his desire,
His love for his people,
Burned like a raging fire.

His desire was for freedom,
In this the promised land,
But in the wind of racism,
His dreams scattered like sand.

He could not secure those,
Liberties he felt he was due,
But he would not accept defeat,
And his dream glowed anew.

He looked for leaders who,
Could help him with his yearn,
He chose Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, men,
From whom he could learn.

They taught him of his,
Ancestors from a land afar,
Men whose love of freedom,
Burned brighter than a star.

Men who were proud and,
Knew not of human fear,
Men who faced lions with,
Courage, strength, and a spear.

Men of great dignity with,
Muscles as hard as stone,
Men who loved their people,
Beautiful, and black to the bone.

Bobby Hutton followed his leaders,
Men whom he could trust,
He wanted to free his people,
With force if he must.

Bobby relit his fire and,
His desire to be free,
He became a Panther for,
All the world to see.

He saw a new destiny,
Now he was not alone,
He would like his ancestors be,
Beautiful, and black to the bone.

One fateful eve' little men,
Who were filled with fright,
Extinguished the fire of this man,
Who was not afraid to fight.

Though many may think,
Bobby Hutton has passed on,
Panthers still feel his presence,
Beautiful, and black to the bone.

Frank Jones





Clockwise around telegram from Mrs. Betty Shabazz: The black community joins the Black Panther Party to mourn Bobby Hutton; Panther Sam Napier talks to (m)sister of Min. of Information Eldridge Cleaver; The father of Bobby Hutton is accompanied by relatives after service.



Brothers Chico, Don, Chuck, and Crook standing in front of Ephesians Church of God in Christ, where funeral of Bobby Hutton was held.



RIGHT: Ruth Hagwood, James Forman and Faye Bellamy of SNCC listening to memorial service tribute to Bobby Hutton at Lake Merritt Park.

ATLANTA GEORGIA

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1134P PST APR 11 68 LD363 AA011
A LLF33 PD ATLANTA GA 12 1218P EST
THE HUTTON FAMILY
898 56 ST OAKLAND CALIF
WORDS CANNOT EXPRESS THE LOSS AND ANGER I FEEL OVER THE MURDER OF LITTLE BOBBY. HE WAS A BROTHER WHO GAVE HIS LIFE FOR US. ALTHOUGH I KNEW HIM A VERY SHORT TIME I LOVED AND RESPECTED HIM AS A REAL WARRIOR IN THE STRUGGLE. ONE OF THE FIRST WHO PICKED UP THE GUN FOR OUR PEOPLE WE WILL REMEMBER HIM ALWAYS AND WE WILL AVENGE HIS DEATH
SISTER ETHEL MINOR COMMUNICATIONS SNCC DIRECTOR.

JAMAICA NEW YORK

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SFB215 635P EST APR 14 68 SYA136
SF SY JAB102 NL PD JAMAICA NY 14
1968 APR 14 PM 3 45
KATHLEEN CLEAVER
APT 11 850 OAK ST SFRAN VJ
OUR SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT TO FREEDOM LOVING BLACK PANTHER BROTHERS AND SISTERS WE PAY SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO BOBBY HUTTON ELDRIDGE CLEAVERY HUEY NEWTON BOBBY SEALE YOUR HEROIC STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FORCES OF OPPRESSION AND INSPIRING TO WE WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE BLACK MANS FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL HERE IN AMERICA
HERMAN FERGUSON PRESIDENT JAMAICA RIFLE AND PISTOL CLUB INC
ROCHDALE VILLAGE STATION BOX 452 JAMAICA 11434

SNCC

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1035P PST APR 11 68 LD344 AA012
A LLF35 PD ATLANTA GA 12 1245A EST
THE HUTTON FAMILY
898 56 ST OAKLAND CALIF
STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE! ANGRY AND SAD OVER BRUTAL MURDER OF BROTHER BOBBY HUTTON. THOSE OF OUR STAFF WHO KNEW HIM HAD ONLY LOVE AND PRAISE FOR LITTLE BOBBY. WE FEEL THAT WE ALL KNEW HIM EACH OF US SHARED THE PAIN OF LOSING HIM. THE HORRIBLE MANNER IN WHICH BOBBY WAS TAKEN FROM US BEARS WITNESS TO WHAT WE MUST DO IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE AMERICA. OUR STRUGGLE IS MORE CLEARLY DEFINED THAN EVER. AS LITTLE BOBBY LIVES WITHIN US, WE SHARE AVENGE, AND WE WILL WIN
BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN SNCC.













"PANTHERS NEVER ATTACK ANYONE, BUT WHEN PUSHED INTO A CORER, LIKE THE BROTHERS WERE LAST NIGHT, WE MUST DEFEND OURSELVES." - Chairman Seale, April 7, 1968.

TOP: Chairman Seale speaks at Memorial Rally, held April 13, after funeral. Standing next to him is Melvin Newton, brother of Min. of Defense Huey Newton.

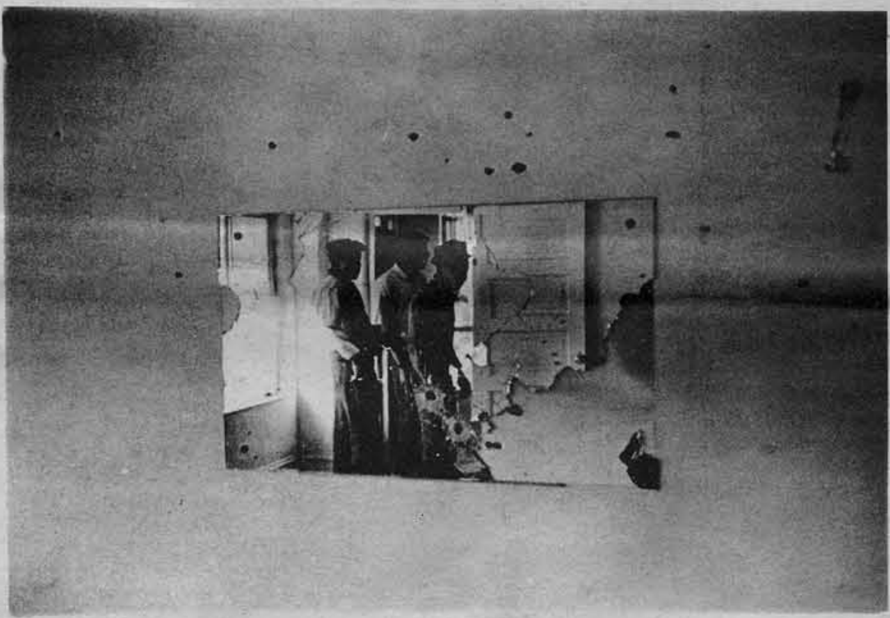
RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: Panther Bill Brent speaks at Lake Merritt Memorial Rally for Bobby Hutton; Black mother and child stand amidst ruined furniture from house at 1218 - 28th St., after police ambush of April 6; young black residents sit beside bullet-ridden car next to scene of crime.

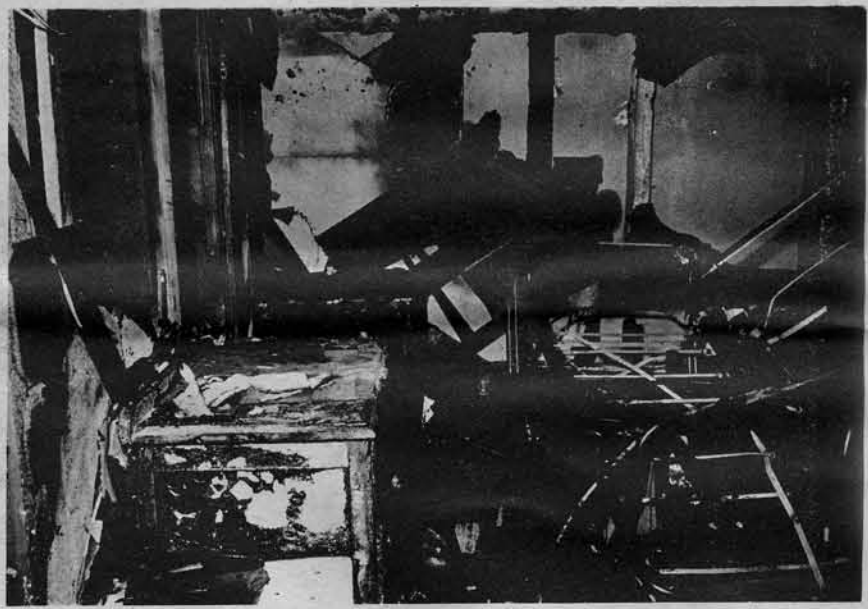
Chairman Seale speaks at press conference the day aft the ambush; standing with hi are Minister of Education, George Murray, Revolutionary Artist Emory, and Panther Steve Adams; Residents enter bullet-ridden house, most came out misty-eyed due to excess tear gas fumes in house for a week afterwards.

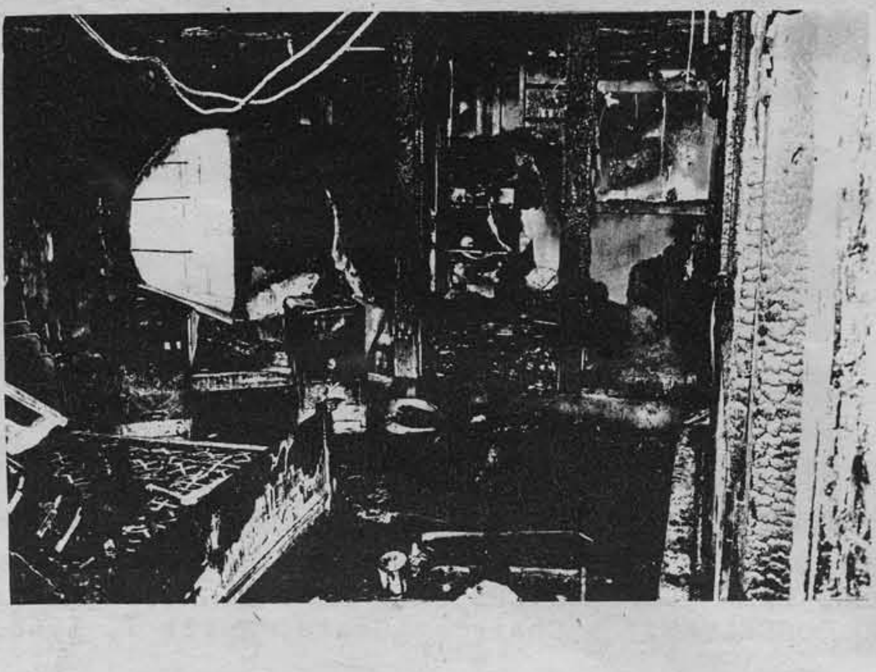
1218 - 28TH STREET













TOP TO BOTTOM:
Black people view destruction wrought by Oakland pigs in heart of West Oakland community; swarm outside house where police had Oakland Fire Department hose away the blood immediately following the murder of Bobby Hutton, thus attempting unsuccessfully to keep the black community unaware of their brutal deed.

Bullet-ridden mirror reflects community residents checking out sizes of bulletholes.

Bedroom seen is in complete shambles after pigs set fire to house to force brothers out.

TOP TO BOTTOM: Television set in living room of ruined house is surroundered by littered remains of house.

Another room completely totalled out by the destructiveness of the Oakland Police and Fire Departments.

Black resident holds .45 cartridges and a tear gas grenade, which was used to force Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton out after fire and OVERKILL weapons failed.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



PRIME MINISTER STOKELY CARMICHEL

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1038P PST APR 11 68 LD345 AA013
A LLF37 PD ATLANTA GA 12 1246A EST
THE HUTTON FAMILY
898 56 ST OAKLAND CALIF

TERRIBLY SORRY AND SADDENED THAT WE CANNOT COME TO OAKLAND FOR FUNERAL OF OUR BROTHER LITTLE BOBBY JAMES HUTTON HE WAS A BEAUTIFUL BRAVE COURAGEOUS WARRIOR WHO LIVED THIS LIFE AND FINALLY GAVE HIS LIFE FOR OUR PEOPLE. LITTLE BOBBY WAS IN THE VANGUARD OF REVOLUTIONARY BROTHERS WHO CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT POWER COMES FROM A GUN. HIS DEATH PROVES THAT IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE AMERICA WE MUST FOLLOW BY THESE EXAMPLES AND PICK UP THE GUNS. THERE IS NO TIME FOR TEARS AND MOURNING THAT WE ALL FEEL WITHIN OUR HEARTS. HE DIED FOR US LET US NOW MOVE ON AND CARRY ON HIS STRUGGLE. OUR ONLY MEMORIAL FOR HIM WILL COME ON THAT GLORIOUS DAY WHEN WE DEFEAT THE ENEMY UNTIL THEN THE LOVE THAT HE HAD FOR OUR PEOPLE AND HIS SPIRIT WILL REMAIN WITH US AND GIVE US STRENGTH TO PUSH AHEAD. IN HIS DEATH THOUSANDS OF OTHERS BOBBY HUTTONS WILL RISE FROM OUR COMMUNITIES TO CARRY ON WHERE HE LEFT OFF. WHEN THEN WE SHALL CONQUOR WITHOUT A DOUBT

STOKELY CARMICHAEL PRIME MINISTER BPPSD SNCC RAP BROWN JUSTICE MINISTER OF BPPSD.

MINISTER OF JUSTICE H. RAP BROWN

GESTAPO TACTICS



PANTHERS

Late Friday afternoon, April 12, 1968, Panthers Glenn Stafford, Robert Bay, Terry Claridy, and Richard Linyard were stopped and harrassed by the Oakland Police Department. They were returning from the funeral and memorial services for Bobby Hutton, who was slain by the Oakland Police Department on April 6, 1968.

The four were approaching Grove and 21st Streets when a policeman held a shotgun directly to the head of the driver and owner of the car, Robert Bay, and ordered him out of the car. An estimate of 20 policemen arrived at the car and the four were all told to get out of the car. The police held shotguns at the heads of all four victims and told them not to move or their brains would be blown out. As the policemen were harrassing the victims, Glenn Stafford began shouting to attract the attention of passersby, "If you're going to kill me like you did BOBBY HUTTON you can kill me right out here in public." A policeman then proceeded to place a can of Mace directly behind Stafford's left ear and squirted it on him.

During all this turmoil, the men were not told by the police why they were stopped. They were handcuffed, put into police cars, and driven around the corner where they were placed in a paddy wagon. They were then driven to the Oakland city jail. After being booked at the jail, they were told that they were robbery suspects and that they had violated California Penal Code Section 211.

On Saturday, April 13, they were told that on Monday, April 8, 1968, a woman was robbed of a money bag by two men who were driving a car matching the description of that owned and driven by Robert Bay.

Sunday night, April 14, 1948, the victims were taken before a line-up at which no identification could be made, and shortly afterwards were told that the charges of robbery would be dropped on Monday morning, April 15, 1968. Terry Claridy, Richard Linyard, and Robert Bay were released, and Glenn Stafford was rebooked on other charges, including resisting arrest, and released on bail on Tuesday, April 16.

Following are excerpts from notarized statements, which are part of the federal suit by the Panthers against the City of Oakland, made by STAFFORD, BAY, and CLARIDY, all plaintiffs in the suit which alleges harrassment, and systematic intimidation by the Oakland Police Department:

STAFFORD: "... I started shouting to attract the attention of passers-by so that people would see what was happening and so that we wouldn't be shot, because I was very much afraid that they would try to kill us all. Because I was upset and frightened and trying to attract the attentions of passers-by to what was going on I shouted, 'If you're going to kill me like you did Bobby Hutton, you can kill me right out here in public." All this time I was already handcuffed with my hands behind my back and throughout this time a shotgun with both barrels cocked was pointed straight in my face. When I shouted one of the policemen put a can of Mace, placed the nozzle of it directly on my head behind my left ear and shot the Mace at me. This caused very severe burning pain and made me feel very dizzy and confused. ... (on) Monday, April 15, 1968, I was, in fact, re-booked on a charge of violating California Penal Section 148 and told that I had been charged with resisting arrest. Of course, with a cop's shotgun pointed straight at my face, my hands handcuffed behind my back, and Mace being squirted at me, I could not have resisted even if I had wanted to..."

BAY: "... Sgt. Boyd... asked me what the Black Panthers had against the police (on April 13, 1968). I told him that what I had against the police were things like that they had shot and killed an unarmed seventeen year old friend of mine, Bobby Hutton, and that the four of us had been held up with shotguns and Mace and were sitting in jail for a crime that we did not commit.

"I said that I wanted to call my lawyer and ask him to be present at this lineup, but the officer told me that I couldn't call my lawyer because he wouldn't be in his office on Sunday anyway."

CLARIDY: "At the jail, because I was still very upset by the funeral of my friend Bobby Hutton, and by the treatment that we had just received I said to one of the officers, 'Why don't you shoot me just like you did Bobby Hutton.' The officer replied 'Someday I will, I really wish I could.' "□

> WHAT IS A PIG?
>
> A low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice, or the rights of the people; a creature that bites the hand that feeds it; a foul depraved traducer, usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack.

We four, Shirley Neely, Brenda Curry, John Higgins and Melvin Newton, went to view the ruins of the house on 28th and Union Streets where Saturday, April 6, 1968, members of the Black Panther Party were shot by officers of the Oakland Police Department.

We arrived, around 5:00 p.m. There was a large group of people congregated around the house also looking at the remains. After approximately fifteen minutes, we left en route to the Black Panther Party's Headquarters on 45th and Grove Streets. I noticed, after turning the corner on 28th Street, that the police were following us. At 32nd and Chestnut Streets, we were stopped by the "flashing red lights." I pulled over to the side of the road and turned off my motor. The police officer BADGE NO. # didn't come to my side, and I was the driver, but instead asked from the other side of the window for my driver's license. I asked him, in turn, why I was being stopped, to which he replied, "you didn't give a signal when you turned on 28th and Union." The officer took my driver's license and went back to his car which was parked behind mine. After a great deal of writing and calling, after we were surrounded by five to six police cars, after policemen were standing around us with "carbines" and "automatic shotguns," a policeman abruptly told us to get out of the car. We did. They immediately proceeded to search my car thoroughly which took approximately ten minutes. After searching my car WITHOUT A WARRANT, they returned my license only after I asked for it THREE TIMES. Then the mighty police force left with the " screeching of tires. " Throughout this entire ordeal, the manners, which displayed "arrogance and intimidation," the actions, which were very "abrupt and rude" was reminiscent of Hitler's Strongmen during his reign of terror. They showed us no respect as HUMAN BEINGS to say the least as CITIZENS.

While this display of "American Democracy" took place, the streets were lined with the black people who lived in the West Oakland neighborhood. They stood appalled and shocked at the entire show of a "police state" in action. This today, was our experience of this SICK, RACIST society in which we live. The police left without issuing a warning or citation, which, I felt, only proved the entire ordeal was to intimidate black people and something more foreboding and ominous to incite us to riot or show aggression towards them in order to give them an excuse to kill us in the streets like dogs.□

Shirley Neeley
Brenda J. Curry
John Higgins
Melvin Newton

O O O O

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

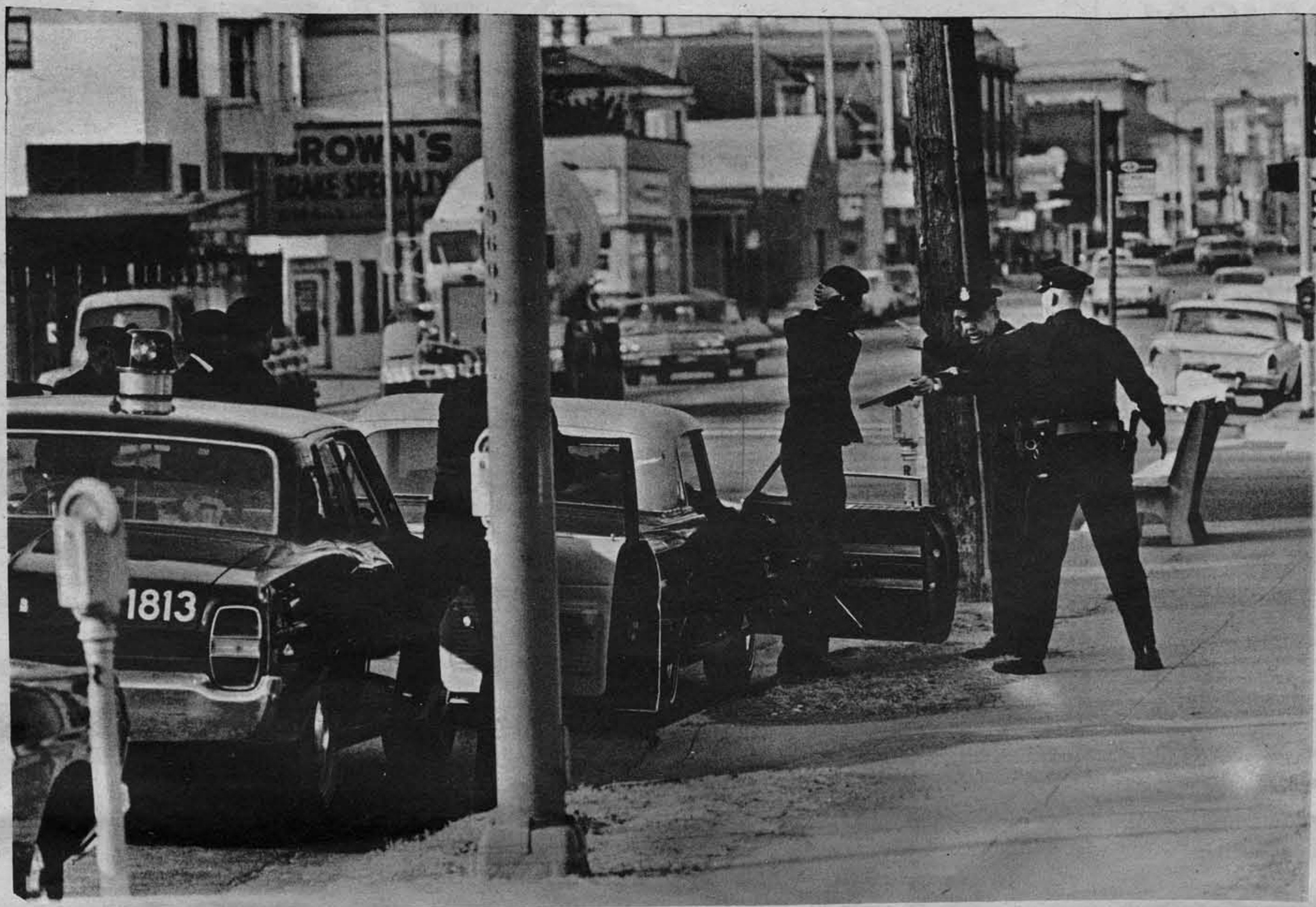
HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

GESTAPO TACTICS



"DON'T MOVE OR I'LL BLOW YOUR BRAINS OUT" commanded the pig to Panther Terry Stafford while being arrested for phony robbery charges later dropped.

SNCC

SNCC FIELD SECRETARIES ARRESTED IN TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, CAMPUS UNDER ARMED GUARD!

TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, April 24, 1968 . . . Ernest "Trap" Stephens, SNCC Campus Program Field Secretary, reported the following information to SNCC National Headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia:

1. April 24, 1968, George Ware, SNCC Campus Program Director, and Simuel Schutz of the SNCC Campus Program were both arrested in Tuskegee for "Trespassing" on Tuskegee campus. In fact, they were not on campus, but a few blocks away. Bonds were set at $300 each. Latest informatio is that they are still in jail. George Ware received his undergraduate degree from Tuskegee; Simuel Schutz was born and raised in Tuskegee, also attended Tuskegee Institute. The school administration claims they ordered Ware and other SNCC workers 6 months ago not to set foot on that campus; however, Ware and his co-workers were nowhere near Tuskegee 6 months ago.

2. Leon Kennedy, student at Tuskegee Institute., is being held illegally in jail, arrested without a warrant--for "trespassing." Sheriff Lucius Amerson refused to set bond.

3. Ernest "Trap" Stephens reports that Sheriff Amerson hit him in the back with a shotgun. Trap was also born and raised in Tuskegee and attended Tuskegee Institute.

4. On April 24, 1968, Judge Johnson of the U.S. Federal Court in Montgomery, Alabana ordered President Foster of Tuskegee Institute to readmit all of the students his administration arbitrarily kicked out of school on April 6, 1968 --because they had participated in student protests. (Foster ordered the school closed befpre spring vacation, then forced all students to reapply for admission after the vacation. All those students active in the protests were not re-admitted.)

5. President Foster was refusing to obey the court order; instead he said he would swear out injunctions against all those students who had participated in the protests and been kicked out of school.

6. Campus is under heavy armed guard, with city, county, and sheriff deputies patrolling campus, employees of Tuskegee Institute have been armed with 30-30 shotguns. Student I.D.'s are checked for all persons entering and leaving campus. A

for all persons entering and leaving campus. All cars are checked.

7. A Student Citizens Patrol, led by Tuskegee student Eugene Adams Jr., has been following police cars to insure that cops do not intimidate, harass, and brutalize Black students and community people.

WHAT YOU CAN DO!

1. Students at Tuskegee are asking that all brothers, sisters, and fellow students send telegrams of support to students to: c/o Eugene Adams Jr., P.O. Box 1063, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.. Students who can go to Tuskegee are urged to do so, and contact either Eugene Adams Jr., or Ernest Stephens at 1009 Old Montgomery Rd., Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

2. Money is desperately needed for bonds on Ge George Ware, Simuel Schutz, Leon Kennedy (if bond is set) and others who may be arrested at any time. Please send funds at once to:
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE DEFENSE FUND,
c/o 360 Nelson St., S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313Δ Δ Δ

WHITE 'MOTHER COUNTRY' RADICAL SPEAKS

THE BLACK PANTHER - PEACE AND FREEDOM ALLIANCE

by Bruce Kaiper



Bobby Hutton is dead. With his death marks the turning point of the PFM-Black Panther Party "tactical" alliance. With his death marks the necessary transition from mere appeals to conscience to appeals for radical action. The question of black annihilation is no longer a possibility, but is a probability. The echoes of Nurenberg are resounding in our communities more clearly, more piercingly than our maximal defences can bear.

Perhaps the distant remembrances of Auschwitz have finally emerged in our consciousness. Maybe the "exploitation" theory of race has finally seceded to the "genocidal" theory. For the PFM has declared its intentions to state the facts of genocide to the United Nations and to the world. "We will chronicle this slaughter for all the world to see, to every nation we present the ugly facts we have collected." Undoubtedly this is a significant step for the New Left. No longer is the question of racism to be debated and demonstrated only within national boundaries. No longer is the distinction being made between a liberal segment of our nation (those who demonstrate potential or manifest commitment to the cause of the oppressed) and a reactionary segment (those who oppress). The declaration of genocide is, in fact, a declaration that the very roots of the American experience are racist. To ask for world censorship is to ask for an indictment against the total cultural fabric that produced radical and reactionary alike. Such an indictment is both accurate and imperative.

But such a move is not a precedent in this country. In 1951, the Civil Rights Congress compiled and presented to the United Nations General Assembly data which served as the empirical foundation for the allegation of genocide against the United States. In its introductory statement it proclaimed, "We maintain, therefore, that the oppressed Negro citizens of the United States, segregated, discriminated against, and long the target of violence, suffer from genocide as the result of the consistent, conscious unified policies of every branch of the government." The introduction explains that such an assertion is founded upon the Geneva Genocide Convention's rulings that any killing on the basis of race, any bodily or mental harm done to a racial group in whole or in part is an act of genocide. According to Article III of the Convention's statutes, the following acts which are similar to those of U.S. racists are punishable: genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, complicity in genocide, attempts to commit genocide, and direct and public incitement to commit genocide. Such acts are subject to the judgment of the United Nations General Assembly. The Civil Rights Congress also stressed the creation of social and economic conditions that adversely affect the lives of racial groups as genocidal acts, although such factors are only implicit in international law. (See Jean Paul Sartre's "On Genocide").



But what ever happened to this petition? What mention is made of this important attempt to bring racist America to its knees? Tragically, very little. The United States absorbed such an attempt as quickly as it releases white assassins for the murder of blacks. What will occur if the cry of genocide is again heard in the United Nations? Perhaps more attention will be given such a petition due to Vietnam and the International War Crimes Tribunal, but will immediate deliberation and censorship occur? It is not likely to happen.

If such is the case, should the proclamation of genocide be postponed? One would hope not considering that international debate of the issue of racism places it in its proper context. The growth of the Third World with its global ramifications necessitates primary consideration of the issue of racism. Therefore, any attempt to bring racism out into the international sphere is vitally needed.

What remains to be seen is whether such proposals as the preparation of a genocide report are merely diversions from what is urgently needed in the black community: supplementation, protection, and liberation. The preparation of a genocide report parallels the government's recent study of the urban racial crisis. Statistics are gathered on top of statistics. Time is wasted and black communities are destroyed. The PFM would be more helpful if it concentrated its time on the black liberation movement. In fact, this writer designated racism as the central issue of radicalism -- not draft resistance, not third party politics. Such activities as these, although crucial, should have secondary importance to the survival of the black community. As the PFM has finally asserted, we are witnessing within our midst genocide -- not in Vietnam, but right here in Oakland. Granted, the destruction of the Vietnamese and of the black liberation movement are systematically related. But white radicals cannot fight with the National Liberation Front (only indirectly), whereas they can fight with the Black Panthers. This is their radical alternative.

The current alliance between PFM and the Black Panthers is problematical for various reasons:

(1) Although the PFM campaign serves as a means through which the Panthers can introduce their 10 point program on the ballot for voter consideration, the electoral context minimizes the urgency of a program requiring immediate and direct action by the white community. Is the fulfillment of the 10 points contingent upon the electoral process?

(2) The direct action potential of the 10 point program is weakened further by the party politics approach in that its appeal

cont. page 26, col. 1

cont. from page 4, col. 2

DIG THIS

upon us. In fact, your investigators themselves are amongst your chief and shrewdest criminals.

Black people have already judged you, America, and have condemned you to death. And we also know that history has selected us, your slaves and chief victims, to be your executioner, the instrument of your destruction.

What a laugh! America the beautiful. Home of the brave. Friend of the underdog. You once had a beautiful dream -- but even then, while you dreamed that dream, you were foul and corrupt and rotten in your heart, but you were a minor league brigand then and when you compared yourself to the other tyrannies in the world, you looked innocent by contrast to their greater evil. The innocent blood they had shed was a vast and ancient ocean, and yours was a fresh new stream. But now your little stream has become vaster than the sky and your evil dwarfs everything that has gone before. Now you stand naked before the world, before yourself, a predatory, genocidal Dorian Grey, stripped of all egalitarian democratic makeup.

Is it any wonder that we burn you, that we loot you -- you who have burned and looted the world? Who are you to judge? You have no say in the matter. In the councils of the oppressed, the oppressor has no vote. The oppressor has no right which the oppressed are bound to respect.

America, you will be cleansed by fire, by blood, by death. We who perform your ablution must step up our burning -- bigger and better fires, one flame for all America, an all-American flame; we must step up our looting -- loot, until we storm your last hoarding place, till we trample your last stolen jewel into your ashes beneath our naked black feet; we must step up our sniping -- until the last pig is dead, shot to death with his own gun and the bullets in his guts that he had meant for the people.

We are not blind fools, America, we are not petty and greedy like you. You have seen to that. You kept us from becoming like you. We are not even part of you. We are not of you or in you and you are not in us. We stand clear of you. And we are not unjust, as you are. We know that there are those amongst your people who are innocent, those who have had no part in your decisions, those who were brainwashed and manipulated out of their own humanity, out of their minds, out of their lives. We know who these are. These will help us burn you. These will help us loot you. These will help us kill you, so that humanity might breathe a new air and bask in sunlight that will not warm your grave.

Establish a Blue Ribbon Commission to investigate that! ●

cont. from page 10, col. 1

CARMICHAEL ON U.S. RACISM

America is incapable of dealing with the problem.

Q: How will Dr. King's death affect the leadership?

CARMICHAEL: Dr. King's death will not affect our leadership. He will affect the black man, for he was my brother, flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood.

You see, the mistake they made when they shot Dr. King was, even though Dr. King felt about nonviolence, he was always in the streets ready to lead a demonstration.

All the other so-called leaders who talk about nonviolence are not on the streets with their people. Many people respected Dr. King, even though they didn't agree with his philosophy, because at least he was in the streets. But now there's really no one else to respect who talks about nonviolence. The people who talk about nonviolence are not in the streets.

Q: Mr. Carmichael, are you declaring war on white America?

CARMICHAEL: White America has declared war on black people. She did when she stole the first black man from Africa. The black man has been patient, has been resisting -- and today the final showdown is coming.

That is clear. That is crystal clear. And black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Because that's the only way white America keeps us in check, because she's got the guns.

Q: What do you see this ultimately leading to? A blood bath in which nobody wins?

CARMICHAEL: First, my name is Mr. Carmichael, and secondly black people will survive the blood bath. Last question.

Q: What accomplishments or objectives do you visualize from the encounter? What do you think you will accomplish?

CARMICHAEL: The black man can do nothing in this country. Then we're going to stand up on our feet and die like men. If that's our only act of manhood, then Goddammit we're going to die. We're tired of living on our stomachs.

Q: One last question: Do you fear for your life?

CARMICHAEL: The HELL with my life! You should fear for yours. I know I'm going to die. I know I'm leaving. (Very loud and long applause.)

MCKINNIE: There will be a just fight throughout the United States, so that black brothers and sisters can take off that day as slaves working for the master and think about, realize what the honky is doing to the black people in this country and perhaps then something can be done. That's the end of the press conference. ○

*Ed. note: Rap Brown was released April 18. ●



cont. from page 10, col. 4

BOBBY ON U.S. RACISM

preceded Huey like John the Baptist preceded Jesus Christ, are correct in their analysis and actions in establishing the right of black people to defend themselves against all forms of racist genocidal aggression against black people in racist America.

Since the Black Panther Party has existed with our specific Ten Point Platform, the white power structure with its thug pig cops has tried its hardest to destroy the Party and its representation of the Black Community. They even wanted to destroy Martin Luther King, let alone Bobby Hutton.

But we in the Black Panther Party have a dream too -- a dream of totally changing the oppressive conditions of our lives -- a dream related to our struggle, to our lives, and to our blood. ●

WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE

cont. from page 4, col. 1

FREE ELDRIDGE

oppressed black community and again achieved great success. He has used his keen perception to criticize not only the superficial manifestations of the illness of our society, but to expose and illuminate the underlying virus that can only survive in the dark dampness of the subconscious. Eldridge has been too successful with his political psychiatry - the patient has rebelled. The establishment does not want to be cured of the sickness upon which it thrives. The establishment is now trying to imprison Eldridge's mind, not his body. This is why Eldridge is being held in Vacaville instead of in Oakland. This move was announced as a security precaution, and that it was. It was to insure that Eldridge could not continue to communicate with the black community and continue to direct the efforts to free Huey P. Newton from imprisonment and the black community from oppression.

We in the black community can no longer allow ourselves to be deceived by the establishment's political chicanery. We must follow Eldridge's example and attempt to analyze and understand why certain actions are taken, and we must not rely on the establishment oriented and directed medium of communication as our only sources of information. Just as Latin America has adopted the cry, "Free Debray," we must add to our efforts to Free Huey, the additional rallying cry, "Free Eldridge." ●

cont. from page 12, col. 1

Black Paper

Earth has a right to live. Therefore, when it is necessary to work to live, every human being has a right to work in order that he may eat and provide himself with basic necessities. If he is physically incapable of work, then society has an obligation to support him for life, or for as long as his disability remains. We demand for every human being the highest standard of living that the present-day level of technological development is capable of providing. This encompasses the traditional demand for decent housing, decent clothing, decent food, and decent schooling.

2. Withdraw the troops. The occupying army of the police must be replaced with a public force of black men who live in the community to maintain order and harmony. Also, UN observers should be stationed in the black colony to observe and halt the police-gestapo actions against black people; to prevent genocide and racist extermination which violates not only the UN Charter of Human Rights but the lives and right to life and peace of black people.

OUR SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

We propose that:

1. The Peace and Freedom Party run our proposed candidates;
2. The Peace and Freedom Party support our call for the Black Plebiscite;
3. The Peace and Freedom Party support our call for UN observers to be stationed in the major cities or in areas of concentrated black population to halt the aggression and the provocative tactics of the racist pig gestapo police who occupy our colony as foreign troops occupying conquered territory;
4. The Peace and Freedom Party join with the Black Panther Party and the Stop the Draft Week organizers and participate in the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations in April to focus attention and to supply pressure on the demands that the troops of the power structure be withdrawn from Vietnam and from the black colony, and from the black colony, AND FROM THE BLACK COLONY;
5. The Peace and Freedom Party support the Black Community's demand that those who police the black communities must live in the black communities. □

cont. from page 4, col. 5

SEALE AND GARRY

SEALE: Bobby Hutton was shot while his hands were in the air. He was the first to walk out the door. He was gunned down by the racist pig department of Oakland."

Q: Do you believe there is a plot to wipe out the leadership of the Panther Party?

SEALE: Yes.

GARRY: Yes. Coakley should file a murder charge against the officer who killed Bobby Hutton. The pattern has been consistent in aim and purpose of destroying the militant Black Panther Party which is exercising its rights under the 1st and 14th Amendments, the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and the right to be safe in one's own home. The police assume any Black man is a Panther who is not docile.

SEALE: "That's why there are black rebellions. Racism. When police say they were ambushed, or when they charge burglary, or when a police officer says "there is reasonable cause to believe..." this is racist." These arguments are used "to commit murder against black people."

Q: What's going to happen in Oakland tonight?

ANSWER: (SEALE) "If you stop attacking black people nothing is going to happen."

Attorney Garry mentioned the threats of violence that have been directed towards the Panthers in recent weeks. "We're going to kill you, etc."

SEALE: "You speak of nonviolence. What about King's principles being accepted by racist white America?" Seale mentioned the number of lynchings in 20th century American history: "this is real racism. This is what we're defending ourselves against." "Do you know that in the last 4 weeks 6 black people have been murdered by the police? Did we attack them? No, they attacked us. We want our own Black police department which lives in our own community -- because the police are the arm of the power structure."

Who do the police patrol? Not the white people in the hills.

"We're talking about the same principles that murdered King. That's what Huey Newton was talking about."

"King, by an act of a racist, exhausted his means. What's wrong with self defense? There are 100 million guns among white people."

GARRY: The irony of Easter week when the vested interests killed Christ. In this same holy week, this same kind of killing is perpetuated under the guise of law and order. Until I got into this case, I thought I understood the problems of black people. During World War II, we talked about fascism, about man's inhumanity to man. I have found that people in the ghetto have been faced with fascism for centuries - right here - wherever black people are under the iron heel of the police.

GARRY: The President's Commission Report on Civil Disorders reported that the first grievance of black people is police oppression. This was a unanimous report in which 4 or 5 police chiefs participated.

Other participants in the conference referred to discussions with Eldridge Cleaver in which he had foreseen the possibility of this happening, of Seale and himself being attacked by the police. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

✻✻✻✻✻✻✻✻✻✻✻

Black Power Rallies in China

TOKYO — (AP) — For the second consecutive day supporters of Chairman Mao Tse-tung staged massive demonstrations yesterday in Red China for Black Power disturbances in the United States, the New China News Agency reported.

In Shanghai, Communist China's biggest city, a "mammoth mass rally" of 250,000 persons was held and one million people participated in a demonstration, it said.

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cont. from page 24, col. 1

white 'mother country' radical speaks

lies in the black community which its intended aim is at the white voting bloc which (to quote Reese Erlich in "The Movement") can only "support the black liberation movement on moral and altruistic grounds" since "most of them are not directly in contact with blacks". Thus the 10 point program is stripped of its intended political value (that to be acted upon), and serves merely as an educational tool for white sympathizers of the black cause. Appeals to conscience are worthless unless they generate both immediate and long range actions.

(3) The "Free Huey Newton" provision of the minimal coalition is troubling in that to the black community it is a question of protection and survival of black leadership, whereas to the white radicals it appears to be an act of defending a New Left "hero". It is significant to mention PFM response to Eldridge Cleaver's imprisonment as a case in point. The PFM hopes to obtain support from "dignitaties", "noted artists and writers of great stature" etc., in freeing Eldridge. Is such support for Eldridge the writer, or for Eldridge the black liberation leader? Why not make appeals to dignitaries for their defense of the black community of which Eldridge and Huey are embodiments? The tendency to divorce the importance of leaders from that of the overall movement should be discussed within PFM.

(4) The question of a plebiscite within the black community to be held by the U.N. is again related to PFM plans for a genocide proclamation. Both are important maneuvers and both reinforce one another, but both entail much preparation and extensive amount of time. The continual and escalated threats to the black liberation movement relegate plebiscites to secondary importance at this time. The point is simply this – the New Left has enough factual evidence proving that genocide is a reality, therefore it should act upon its evidence regardless of public skepticism or condemnation. As the Panthers realize, the justification for radical action is embedded in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence. If the government wished to contest white support of the black liberation, it is upon such legal foundations that radicals should defend themselves and their black allies. The right to revolt against usurping laws is a "natural" form of self defense.

(5) The various actions taken by PFM in aiding the black movement reveal both positive and negative potential for further alliance. The financial drive within the white community for the Panther Defense Fund has had fairly substantial results. One cannot stress enough the need of money for the black community. PFM and other white allies should conscientiously and systematically organize financial drives for the Panthers. Such fund-raising should be viewed as a permanent fixture of the black-white alliance and should not gravitate back to sporadicism which is presently evident. Such a financial organization for black supplementation might mean a rechanneling of resources used for electorial campaigning to the Panther Defense Fund.

The PFM involvement in Black Panther demonstrations reveals the inherent impotency of white radicalism. "Demonstrations are only relevant when they signal or reinforce the need for action." This worn out remark still lacks realization in current protests. For Bob Avakian to proclaim "surround the Court House whether the pigs like it or not" is absurd when he and his fellow white radicals know that such a display of "strength" is only mock or theatrical. This writer feels that the game of "mock battle" is over. Such action is of no value to the black liberation movement who are the ones being killed.

(6) The PFM should take advantage of its community organization approach for presenting to the white population alternatives for immediate action. It should dispell any tendencies of whites to view action only in relation to electoral politics. Whether this has been done or not remains to be seen.

In what form should a Panther-PFM alliance occur? Before considering questions of structure, a few general remarks must be made. The PFM and other white radical organizations must orient themselves to the black liberation movement. It is this writer's view that their very survival is connected to the survival of the black community. "Radicalism" is a bankrupt political concept unless it concentrates upon problematical realities that are imminent and in need of immediate resolution. Radicals who focus their attention upon their gradual political ascendency; radicals who romanticize revolutionary heroes of past and present; radicals who confine themselves to arm chair revolution, radicals who engage in mock battles; are, in the eyes of the black liberation movement, or no political value or significance. The primary determinant for the eventual structural transformation of this society is in the liberation of the black community. Racism hangs as a heavy weight on all our shoulders, thus affecting our revolutionary vision. The development of a revolutionary consciousness occurs when radicals can free themselves and white society from the overwhelming burden of racism. Such liberation is contingent on the survival of the Black Panthers and other black liberation groups.

The question of tactical alliance and corresponding structure, therefore, is determined obviously on the nature and degree of commitment the PFM makes to the Blach Panthers. If the alliance to the Panthers is viewed merely as one of many components to a PFM platform, then the structure of that alliance will continue to be ambiguous, tenuous, and (this writer asserts) doomed to collapse. If, on the other hand, the alliance with the Panthers is considered of primary importance, the provisional structure of the alliance may grow into a permanent multifaceted one. If the second alternative is chosen, the following ideas might be of some use:

This writer advocates the creation of a cadre within the PFM (or outside of it if the PFM so desires) that specifically deals with the supplementation and defense of the Black Panther Party. Of course, such a group would be unconditionally subject to the will and directives of the Panthers. If they decide that such a cadre is of no further importance to the liberation, the group should abolish its operations immediately.

The functions of the group would include:

(1) The systematic collection and creation of financial and other material resources for the Panther Defense Fund or coinciding funds for Newton and Cleaver. The group would obtain money through PFM membership pledges; through pledges obtained by designating a percentage of one's salary for the Panthers; through money drives, rallies, benefits, etc. Clothing, food, and shelter would also be requested for black liberation members.

(2) Direct involvement in the obtaining of housing, employment, and better welfare facilities for the black community. This would require commitment from members of the PFM who are knowledgable in these areas. It would also require the immediate mobilization of PFM members for purposes of protest of discriminatory practices, etc. All research studies, public statistics, and information available for the basis of immediate action in these areas should be obtained.

(3) The immediate involvement in issues of legal and physical defense. Cadre members should become thoroughly knowledgeable of local, state, and national statutes pertaining to self defense (specifically) and to civil liberties (in general). Attorneys who are sympathetic to the liberation should be contacted and persuaded to defend the Panthers in court. Legal associations and other relevant agencies should be approached by PFM members. They should demonstrate the Constitutional nature of the Panthers' actions and prompt such organizations into legal action. The cadre should also familiarize itself with misdemeanor and felony statutes of the state of California. The cadre should keep in close contact with Panther operations (if the Panthers so allow) so that they can come to their legal defense as witnesses in case of police intimidation or arrest. It might even become necessary for whites to use similar "policing" methods effectively demonstrated by the Panthers as a means of protecting the Panthers themselves. The cadre should also become familiar with gun laws in case it might have to supply guns and ammunition to the Panthers if the local gun restrictions are too tight for them. (Recent evidence indicates this point as becoming fact).

Those white radicals who are cringing at the thought of such ideas must remember that the black community lives this fear every day of their lives. Others might claim that these remarks about guns are suicidal or the equivalent of "white terrorism". Let them not forget that suicide or terrorism is only so defined in relation to a meaningless basis for action. Terrorism is a meaningless act of violence with no empirical or moral justification necessitating the act to occur. Defense of black who are being annihilated is not terroristic or suicidal. It is morally, legally, and spiritually grounded. To arm oneself against the usurping powers of the state or to prevent systematic genocide of a people in this nation is a legal and revolutionary right.

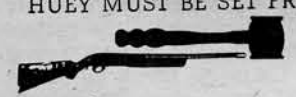
This writer is not advocating the formation of a white guerrilla movement. There has been enough romantic fantasy in the New Left to warrant this idea childish. This writer proposes something less exciting and more realistic. To repeat, what he is advocating is the commitment of white radicals to the liberation of blacks through strategic supplementation and defense of their immediate and long range needs. Radicals must think in terms of strategy instead of in terms of tactics. From such a commitment, the realization of revolutionary conscience, so badly lacking among whites, would emerge. With such a commitment, the question of genocide is no longer one for mere debate, but one to be dealt with immediately. Let the spirit of John Brown reinstate itself in the conscience of white radicals. O



cont. from page 6, col. 1

In Defense Of Self Defense

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!



HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the Black community, the Black population. If it is learned by the power structure that Black people have X amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, for it is already more than prepared. In the end result, this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of the vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party. ■

POCKET LAWYER of LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes. You should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so). But then do so, and at all times remember the Fifth Amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search - that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped, you should try to get independant witnesses to observe the proceedings, and get their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. Try to do this, if possible, before any arrest takes place.

6. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls - one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 654-2003, and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar association of your county) and will furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law. ● ● ● ● ● ●





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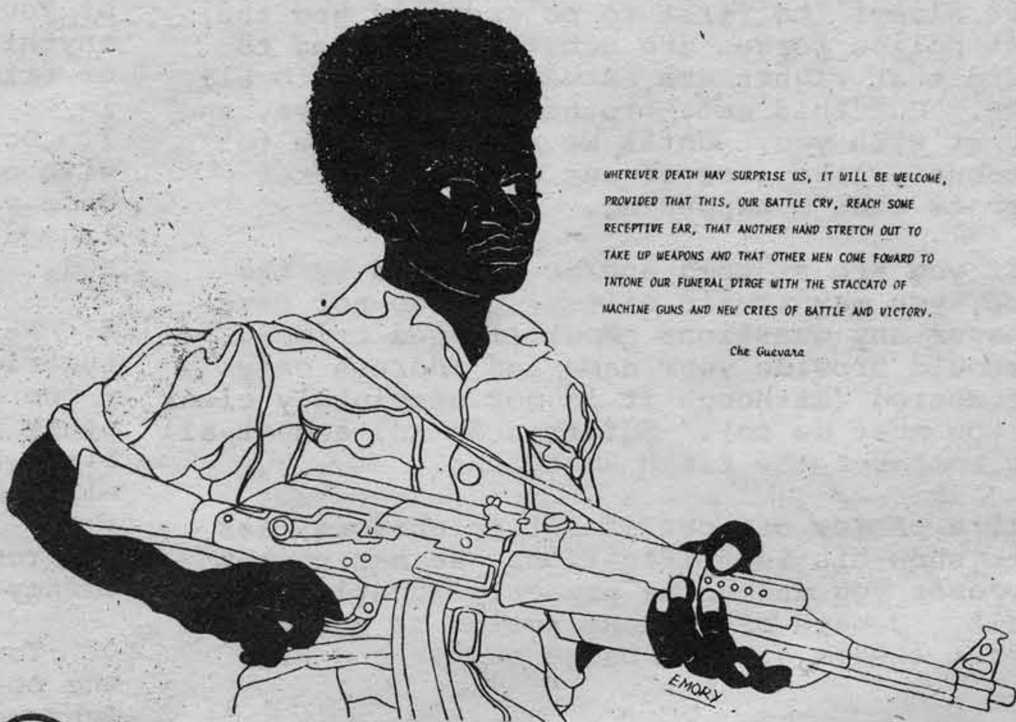


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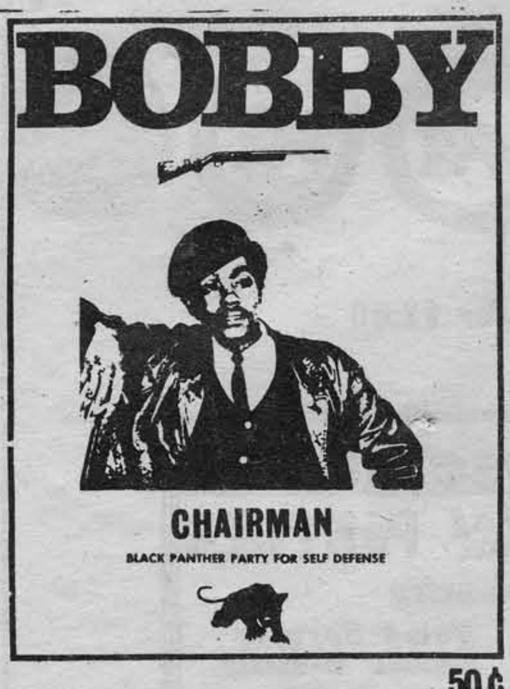
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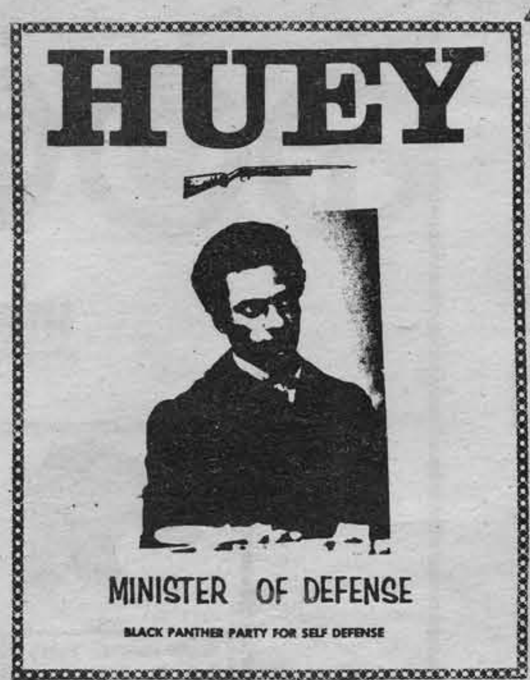
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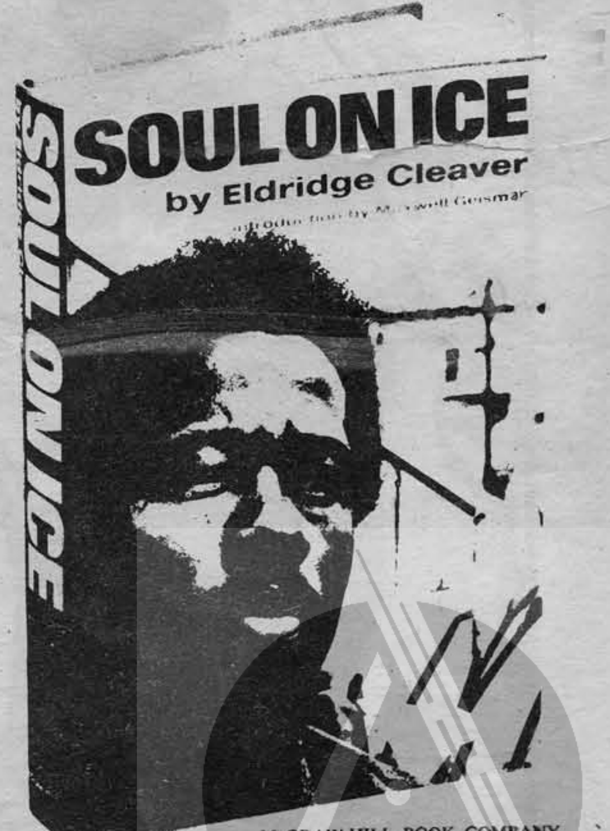
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